

Making butter, //nubu, is done in the following way: the sour milk is poured from the wooden pail into a calabash, aba-s. This gourd flask, the narrow opening of which is closed with a wooden plug, is rolled at a slant on a soft base that is usually made of skins. This is done in the bright sunlight or near a fire. After rolling for about three hours, the gourd is finally moved so slowly that the butter can collect on the top. Then the fluid is drawn off and drunk, and the butter, aba//nu/i-b, i.e., calabash fat, is piled in a wooden pail (!kzao, verb): it is eaten either fresh (!kzao//nu/i-bj) or fried (!g^u-be//nu/i-b).

To increase the amount of butter the fresh thicker roots of a plant which resembles in habitat a *Portulaca* of the Kalahari, is placed in the milk calabash. Because the body (!māh) of the plant is well covered (!g^u) with hairs (!u-!gu) it bears the name !u-!za/kza-s.

The mashi a madila of the Bechuana corresponds to the *//nu-nin//nu-ni-milk of the Hottentots. The fresh milk is poured into a similarly-named calabash which has an opening cut out the width of a hand and is left standing for about two days until it is curdled, leaving a watery sourish fluid at the top and a firm mass at the bottom (!hace-bj).

[188] The wooden milk pail (!//ho^u-s) is preferably carved from the wood of a willow-like tree (!huⁱ-b) that grows abundantly in the Orange River wadi. A handmade funnel, !//k^uaru-s, also seems to belong to the original dairy utensils of the Hottentots; I did not get a chance to see it.

Fresh goat's milk is the chief food of the Hottentot children; the adults also drink it first in order to keep the cow's milk for butter.

In addition to game from hunting and the products of cattle raising there are many foods of "the little people" as they might be called, which the Hottentot seeks in the wilderness or obtains by chance. An impoverished, nomadic folk has to rely on gathering its food in such a manner.

There are no mammals that the impoverished Hottentot will not eat: mice; hares; rock rabbits; porcupines, "dwarfs" (probably *Cynictis penicillata* G. Cuv.), wildcats and jackals; I saw them all put in the cooking pot. Even hyenas are eaten. Eating their heart is supposed to make one extremely sleepy, a superstition that evidently originated from the heavy daytime sleep of the hyena.

[201] Finally, the food called //xʷni-b, which consists of the seeds of the candle bush (Sarcocaulon) are eaten. The Hottentots, with whom I collected these seeds, maintained that a snake, called //xʷa-ʔuibe-b, often lives with the ants that gather these seeds. Another name for this questionable snake, that is more interesting from the ethnological standpoint than from the zoological one, is *iga-risot-ʔa-ʔmi. Igarisob is an alert, hard working, young man; iga-ʔm is to kill. The name thus means "young man killer." According to the story, this snake winds itself around the ankles of the ant food thief and holds him tight until a poisonous snake comes at its whistle to kill him. [Picture. Wooden winnowing basins, the lower one decorated with a burned in pattern. 1/4 natural size.]

Cleaning the ant food from dust and stones is done in a flat, long wooden vessel (*ʔm-bil-o-ʔeb). The mass is purified from the dusty admixture by simply swinging the vessel up and down in the air far out from the body. The dust flies up in the air while the heavier parts fall back into the vessel. The food is cleaned from stones by a peculiar double motion of the vessel. The right hand holds the dish loosely on the narrow side and pushes the vessel forward and up. The left hand supports this motion, while it lets the vessel glide upwards in the rhythm of the right (holding the middle of the long side loosely with the thumb and grasping the under side with the rest of the fingers). All the stones collect way in the back and the food in the front part of the dish.

d) Several plants will be mentioned here, the leaves and blossoms or meaty stem of which are eaten as vegetables.

An Asclepiadaceae, Trichocaulon pedicellatum Schinz, forms thick meaty knobs, shaped like a club or a pear, which has given the plant the name !na-haʔxʷa-ʔab, which means rhinoceros testicle. After pressing out [202] or sucking out the unpotable juice, the meat is eaten raw. And the other hand, two thorn-covered succulents (called !go/a-b and !kʷn-hab) are sought out because of their juice. A somewhat sour juice in the meaty leaves of certain Geraniaceae is also refreshing.

The wrinkled branches of Pelargonium crithmifolium Smith, P. carnosum (L.) Ait. and P. zonale Willd. (called *//naʔm), which are covered with a greyish brown bark and are reddish inside when freshly cut, are roasted in hot ashes.

A Liliaceae, Anthericum drepanophyllum (Buk.) Scher., called *ʔko-rob, furnishes a pleasant tasting vegetable.

[Picture. Farob, a tea fern, 5/4 natural size.]

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Tobacco is indispensable to Hottentots of both sexes. It is the first thing they reach for after waking up in the morning. They have it in the form of large rolls or in firmly packed flat American packets. Because the smoker first cuts (Xao) it, then stuffs (//hā/) it in his pipe, they call it Xao//hā/b, unless they prefer the foreign word ta-bagab. Wild hemp, da-ab, which the Bechuana are so fond of smoking, is not unknown in Namaland but is more rarely used. The Hottentots are economical smokers. They inhale the smoke deeply, and keep it in as long as they can and let it slowly trail out of their mouth and nose. Particularly economical smokers wipe the tobacco tar into a little leather wallet, fumi-//ga-/ru. If their supply of tobacco is used up, they cut up the leather that is drenched in nicotine and smoke the pieces mixed with chopped straw.

[45]

Alcohol was always known to the Hottentots. When they live way out on the veld and cannot get this stimulant except as their ancestors did, [205] they still brew their honey beer, !kya/rih.

The wild African honey bees (called !habu-b) in Namaland usually build their honeycombs in caves, more rarely in hollow trees. The Hottentot knows exactly the individual parts of the bees' house. He differentiates exactly the pollen (!na/o-b) stored up in the comb from the virgin honey (hū-/danib). His generic term for honey is dani-b. The waxy bee cells which are joined together into a comb and which float to the surface after being emptied when one makes sugar beer, are called */ha-/mi. The honeycomb in which the brood lies is differentiated by the word /hā/b, and *aib or tairab is the word for the material which the bee uses to roof over the honeycomb.

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The cave, near which the bees are seen, is first poked with a long stick as thick as one's finger. If honey sticks to the tip of the stick, a firebrand is placed in the entrance to the cave to drive the bees as far away as possible. Then a man creeps into the cave and breaks off the honeycomb with a wooden forked bōe.

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If the cave is too small for a man to creep inside and if the only entrance is a slit the width of a hand, then they use a special honey stick, *!a-rub or !a-nib. They cut a long stick about the thickness of the little finger from the branches of the taal bush or even better from the roots of the thorn tree and attach to the front end with strips of leather two lighter little pieces of wood //ga/ni/ka, the length of a finger, that have a sharp point and are faced towards the back. This

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The Hottentot women love to paint dark, fantastic masks on their faces. 302
 Black or red powder is rubbed with a leather cloth on the face which has
 been previously greased. They get black powder from the knotty parts of 306
 the lower trunk of a *Pelargonium*, which are thoroughly roasted and then 324
 a dusty, crumbly, dark mass can be easily knocked off their bark. Those
 who prefer red make a powder called "igib" from the dry heartwood of a
 giraffe acacia. When the face is all powdered, the painted parts of the
 face are sharply outlined with a damp tip of a cloth in front of a mirror.
 Here and there the face is wiped clean, until the face is partly covered
 as with a Maori grass mask, out of which sometimes only the eyes and
 nostrils peer or perhaps the side parts of the forehead and the cheeks show,
 according to the taste of the artist.

4. Care of the Hair

Care of the hair is usually completely neglected. Along the coast, 302
 the Hottentot sometimes washes his head with the yokes of raw penguin
 eggs in order [211] to encourage the growth of hair. I never saw anyone
 with his hair cut. An old-fashioned Hottentot used to brush his hair with
 the rough, dried mucous membrane of a cow's tongue.

A jackal's tail or a silver jackal's tail corresponds to our handkerchief 320
 or they use a thick bushy tail of the *Otocyon megalotis* Desmar., or at times 324
 a bundle of ostrich feathers; "Taa-bet or gama is the name of this handker-
 chief.

The coastal Hottentots have more fleas and the inhabitants of the more 324
 elevated parts of the country have more lice.

F. Medicine

The medicine of the Hottentots has not been aided at all by the ex- 326
 cellent anatomical knowledge which each person acquires in his childhood 328
 from cutting up slaughtered cattle and wild game. They have no or only
 limited and confused ideas about the functions of the individual parts of the
 body and if there is no externally evident reason for the trouble in the sick
 body, they do not use their anatomical knowledge.

Thus they attribute various pains in the upper leg or even in the lower 328
 leg to a falling of the intestines. Massaging in the direction towards the 329
 abdomen is supposed to press the displaced intestines back. But first the sick

in the place called Spektakel. The Hottentot woman, Anna Marie, bore during her second marriage two boys and a girl, who were still alive in the year 1902. Her husband was Johannes Fortani, the descendant of a freed Negro slave. I also heard about a case of quintuplets in the year 1884 or 1885. The father, Jacobus van Neel, was a Basarid, the mother, named Trein, produced three girls and two boys. The children were alive at birth but died immediately afterward.

3. Use of Medicine

Hottentot medicinal knowledge and methods of healing become less clear, the nearer they approach the field of internal medicine. The use of medicine is all that seems to me worth mentioning.

The Hottentot leaves nothing untried. Aside from practical success, either imagined or real, another consideration also guides him at times. He knows that among the plants of his country there are many healing ones. He also knows of many ailments for which there is probably some healing plant with which he is not acquainted. Further, every hard boy knows that the goat is not dainty in the choice of the plants it eats; it eats nearly everything and so probably, (as the Hottentot reckons) it also eats the healing plants that he is not yet acquainted with. The effective substances of these plants are transferred to the goat and are partly retained in its manure. Therefore goat manure is believed to contain healing properties.

Thus the treatment of chickenpox, /kɔb-ras, consists in the following: the sick person is given a drink several times a day, in which about 1/2 liter of diluted milk is cooked with a handful of fresh (or double the amount if old) goat manure. Lean goat meat is the only other nourishment that he may have.

Whether the following treatment reported to me by two separate eyewitnesses, is used very much, is uncertain. Several men killed a goat, pulled off its skin as quickly as possible in order to place it on the sick person's body while still warm. It may well be that this wrapping works as a beneficial irritant to the skin.

[124] The dried body of the so-called "jump" snake Pho-/bo-/ao-/e, is considered an infallible antidote for snake bite. A few finger widths above and below the bite a deep cut is made, each about 1 centimeter long and the blood is sucked out of each of these cuts for about a half hour with the bleeding horn. Then a small scrap of

the dried lizard, scarcely a millimeter long, is pressed into the wound and rubbed in with charcoal. The snake wound is washed with water. [Picture. The "Jump Snake," Scelotes capensis Gthr., 1/2 natural size.]

The use of snake poison as an antidote for poisonous snake bites is perhaps also worthy of scientific investigation.

A Hottentot, who knew the poisonous snakes of his country well, made it a habit to pursue immediately the snake that had bitten him. He cut out its poison sacks and, squeezed a little of their contents into water and drank it. He dried the rest of the poison and preserved it carefully.

Another person drank the fresh bile of a cobra (called !huni-//hui-b) as a preventive against the poisonous effects of snake bites. This is not an isolated instance, because men who do this are called /ao/!gā aon, i. e. snake poison men. People are certain that the skin secretions of such poison eaters (whether rightly or not ~~must~~ still be determined) heal poisonous snake bites. The poison eater rubs some of his sweat into a small cut made right next to the patient's bite. Or he dissolves what he has scraped off his skin in water and the man who has been bitten drinks it. Whoever has smelled the sweat-soaked clothing of a Hottentot will find the assertion plausible, that, if the sweat of poison eaters does have the power to heal, then [225] a little moisture squeezed from a piece of his clothing is effective.

Many Hottentots follow the same rule which the poison eater does (fighting the effect of the poison immediately with parts of the poisonous animal itself), when they have been stung by a scorpion. Without delay they seek out a living scorpion, squash it and place it immediately on the wound that has been artificially widened. At the same time the sick person is given a thin solution of tobacco juice as an emetic, on the basis of an unclear idea that this helps get the poison out of the body.

It seems that tobacco juice (pipe emery) when rubbed into the wound itself or into a cut next to it, is effective as an antidote for snake bites and scorpion stings.

One wonders whether there are other useful medicines to be found in the treasure chest of Hottentot medicines, in spite of their blind tasting and the self deception of doctors and sick people among the natives.

The excrement of rock rabbits, *!au-/aru-b, which piles up fist high in caves is considered a cure for every kind of body retention. A piece

136 forehead of the bull, the well-developed dewlap and the hump on the back over the shoulders rather give the impression of a gigantic bull. The long thin tail with its (black) tassel is also similar to that of a bull. The antlers of the male consist of strong stubby cones, of the female of less strong, slimmer and somewhat longer cones, which go up at an angle towards the back with a markedly protruding spiral twist in the lower half. Eight to ten thin whitish stripes across the back, which dissolve into the lower parts of the flanks, recall, as does the greyish-yellow of its general coloring, the skin of the kudu. The eland seems to be restricted to the extreme northeast of Namaland and even there is rare.

11. The "gemsbok," Oryx gazella (L.), called /gaṣb, is the antelope of the flat semi-desert country. The border territory of the Namib and of the hinterland is at the time of the best pasturage his favorite territory.

The gemsbok has the size of a small deer. Next to the springbok, he has the most varied coloring of the south African antelopes. The basic color of the trunk and neck is a light grey-brown, that becomes whitish on the flag. A dark-brown stripe goes along its back, continues forwards to the short mane of the back, backwards broadly along the small of the back and into the long bushy tail, that at times seems very dark-black. A similar dark stripe extends from the throat down the middle of the neck and forks between the front legs. The prongs of the fork diverge as broad bands along the stomach and proceed to the hind legs. The white wedge-shaped field, which they have a tendency to bite into, continues to the area of the knee of the hind legs. A broad dark-brown band surrounds the upper leg of the front legs. The white area of the knees and hoofs is interrupted on the front side by a long, dark-brown spot. The black-brown marking of the face resembles a deep and richly cut mask which contrasts sharply with the exposed parts of the face that shine a brilliant white.

Young gemsbok, with little horns about the length of half a finger and bent at the ends, are colored an even light-brown. Only the bushy [275] end of the tail has a lot of black hair. A dark stripe that extends from the front edge of the eye towards the corner of the mouth, indicates the black facial coloring of the grown animal (blurred over the forehead and nose). The Hottentot calls an oryx calf up to this stage /ka-reb,

136 825 An older calf, the horn of which is the length of a small arm is called /aṣb. Finally the hunter differentiates the grown animal before the first

pairing as *nū//nā/seb, i. e. "black horn," because the horns still have a fresh dark color, not the grey flaky surface of the older animal. The native hunter calls the old gemsbok bull that has been driven from the herd, //naisib. [Picture. Antidorcas euchores Zimmerm. Young springbok ♂]

The horns (in the male stronger and stubbler) are like two strong spears, ringed in the lower half, up to one meter long, which diverge slightly on the flat of the forehead and then rise towards the back at a slant. The Boer name, "gemsbok," which has been accepted everywhere in South Africa, shows, as do so many other names, what a childishly vague memory of his school-days the Boer had when he approached the animal world of his new homeland.

12. The springbok, Antidorcas euchores Zimmerm., called //gūb, is in build, marking and size the prototype of the delicate light-footed gazelle. It has the size of a large deer. The symmetrical body rests on tall, slender legs; a slim neck bears the little head with the lyre horns. From the lower shoulder a dark-brown, wide band rises up obliquely and continues to the hips and separates sharply the light yellow-brown of the back from the snow white of the belly. In front, the brown of the back continues to the neck and the outer sides of the front legs. In back, it extends along [276] the outer side of the upper hind legs, but leaves the whole front half of them free. The flag is also white. From it a sharply drawn white stripe runs down the middle of the back and ends shortly before the center. The white of the belly also covers the breast and extends as a narrow band down the middle line of the neck to the throat. The face of the springbok is also white. The large dark eyes peer out expressively. A dark-brown band, that unites the upper lip with the front corner of the eye, enlivens the features. A spot over the eye and one on the forehead (at times, especially in young males, extended over the whole bridge of the nose) complete the simple, yet lively marking of the little animal.

The springbok lives on the open plains in herds of many hundreds, sometimes of many thousands. His striking movements have given him his name. The animals jump so high that in spite of the speed of each motion, a measurable length of time passes before they touch the ground again. They seem then, when they have nearly jumped straight up into the air, to stay up there for a second with all four legs. Even more graceful are the motions of these animals when they are suddenly disturbed and are propelled into the air as if by an invisible power, now to the right, now to the left, expressing their excitement in whimsical jumps which go half-forwards and half-sideways. Then they

set off in full flight. And then sometimes one sees them jump straight up into the air in the middle of the speediest gallop, leaping over the bushes like a kangaroo. The back is bent, the head outstretched and the broadly unfolded flabellum, a bundle of long snow-white erect hair, shines out. 136

The lamb of the springbok is called //gu-nib by the hunter. The old ram who has been pushed out of the herd is called */gu-riseb or */gurimāb, i.e. "he who stands alone." [425]

13. The steinbok, *Raphiceros campestris* (Thunberg), called la-ris, is a small (the size of a fawn) reddish-brown antelope that usually grazes alone. The male is armed with straight, thin, smooth, black, pointed spearlike horns that rise straight up. There is often a striking black spot on the bridge of the nose, that extends halfway up to the eyes. Sometimes one hears a Hottentot, who wishes to make fun of someone's dirty nose, say: "Iaris kyoma juu kyisa ū," i.e. "you, with a nose black as that of a steinbok." [522]

[277] 14. The klippringer (see illustration p. 278) *Oreotragus saltator* (Layard) (Cape D. klipbok), called //kai-is or //kai-sis, could be called the chamois of South Africa. It lives in small herds exclusively in clefted mountain country. With certainty and grace it climbs over the cleft rocks. Without taking a running start, only bending the hind knees slightly, he jumps nearly straight up into the air the height of his own body to ascend the steep steps of the weathered gneiss and granite hills. He knows how to judge distances so accurately and so to judge the amount of strength needed, that even after a bold leap he can land with extraordinary certainty on an edge scarcely a handbreadth wide. The hoofs of the little animal do not extend flat towards the front in a pointed triangle, like those of other antelopes, but are shaped like powerful cylinders that go up at a slant. The animal stands on the outermost tips of these hoofs as though on cothurni. [Picture. *Raphiceros campestris* (Thbg.) Steinbok]

The skin of the klippringer is also remarkable. Thick bristly hairs form a soft, elastic cover, which rustles peculiarly when a hand runs over it. The tips of most of the hairs are colored a light yellowish and are set off sharply from the exposed dark parts of the shafts of the hair. The skin, that from a distance seems to be uniformly greyish-brown, proves on closer inspection to be brilliantly variegated. The male has horns like those of the steinbok.

136 chestnut-brown that is darkened on the head and front legs, especially on the outer side. A blackish-brown broad stripe extends over the bridge of the nose to the forehead and two wads of hair stick out obliquely right under the eyes like dark warts the size of a walnut. They seem to be more pronounced in the male than in the female as is the marking of the head.

[533 [280] The tail is insignificant: "Inaēsi gye ~~Azaris~~ ~~Aresa~~ I" "It
825] has gotten a small tail from its trotting (because of its many motions wiggling its tail)" sang a woman in a hunting song about the hartebeest.

Whereas the antelopes are hunted both for their meat and their skin, the hunting of predatory animals, if one does not consider it as self-defense, is exclusively for the skin.

136 18. Of the predatory animals of Great Namaland, the leopard,
825 Felis pardus L., (Cape D. tijger), called /garu·b, is the most dangerous. [Picture. Bubalis caama (Cuv.) The red hartebeest] The Hottentot distinguishes two kinds of leopards. One of them, called /hards- /garu·b, is supposed to have smaller spots and to be generally yellower than the other kind. Since this leopard not only plunders, but kills all the cattle in the kraal that he can get hold of, he is especially feared. He inhabits the flatter lands and the valleys. The second kind, which is less bloodthirsty, darker, and simply called /garu·b, inhabits the mountains.

According to the beliefs of the native hunters, the leopard, unless he is attacked, only springs at people who look at him [281] but leaves unharmed the person who walks by him without glancing sideways. Thus because the leopard does not wish (Axā = to refuse) to be noticed (phaw) (-be pass. ending, -sa adj. ending, gye auxiliary vb.), the (old) Hottentots call it phaw /hesagye /kxā·b. Apparently also an old hunter's name for the leopard (for I heard it only from old men) is phaw.

136 19. The cheetah, Cynaelurus guttatus Herm., (Cape C. luipard), called /a·rub, may be recognized at first glance by his dog-like, slim legs which are made more for running than for jumping and clawing. His skin has small round black spots that are undivided, not grouped together but far apart on a light brownish-yellow background. Its back
[522] seems to be stretched out lengthwise. Occasionally one can hear a Hottentot teasing a tall man with the words: "Iarub kxoma gayu /gāba ā," i.e. "You with a long back like a cheetah." The animal is a rarity in Namaland, more numerous near Kalahari.

20. The wildcat, Felis castra Desm., (Cape D. grasuwkat), called /a·s·b, is the commonest of the small cats of Great Namaland. It

hunted by the Hottentots. The hunter knows its way of life exactly, 136
distinguishes the outpost of the baboon herd as !kyē. aob, "scout," and 224
the oldest leader as */ga/ro /nē/rab, because it presses toward the water
first [288] (!ga/ro) and does not allow any of the other thirsty ones in
the herd to drink until it has assured itself of its fill.

The Hottentot considers a small ape that lives in the trees a kind of
baboon. It is of the genus Cercopithecus and is supposed to live in the
Orange bush country. They call it */hai- /nē/rab, i.e. "pale baboon"
because of its color, or //o. regyeb, kobold (from //o-re = to cause mis-
chief). [Picture, Papio porcarius (Boddaert). Old male.]

The rage and persistence with which a herd of baboons will attack
a leopard, their chief enemy, in a body and tear it apart is known to
every native hunter. The herdsmen maintain firmly and unanimously
that the baboon catches goats and milks them right into its mouth.

2. The Kinds of Hunting

The Hottentot differentiates the short hunt of one day as !aun from an 224
expedition, !ha/mi-, that takes several days or weeks.

[289] a) The Hottentot shows his mastery in the stalking [of game].
Only the Bushman can compete with him in the art of tracking wild game
(/kyuri-, //ga/m, u/ru). First he sights the game at great distances and,
in spite of all protective coloration which deceives our unpracticed eyes,
recognizes it from nearby without error. In reading tracks he has de-
veloped the sharpness of his senses and the combining power of his intel-
lect to such an extent that the white man seems a fool beside him. One
need only watch a Hottentot once as he follows an antelope which has
been shot and run off. Where there are blood and tracks, following the
trail is child's play, but where we would stop baffled by a field thickly
covered with pebbles, each like the other, he points out one stone in a
hundred. Its underside will have been turned over so slightly towards
the sun and he will know that the hoof of the fleeing animal turned it
and will then point out the direction with his finger where the search
must continue. Then thick thornbushes will blot out the view, the ground
is overgrown with tangles hiding all clues. The Hottentot observes the
surrounding bushes, suddenly swerves a few steps to one side and brings
back a leaf to which a couple of trifles cling. Therefore the animal
has brushed by here. He follows the new direction and although hours

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In Lüderitz Bay and around Keetmanshoop half-grown boys and young men, when they wanted to make fun of girls, used to sing: 533

[Translator's note: four bars of music and text omitted.]

The teasing is implicit in the ambiguity of the text. The words in themselves, "you, my cheek (ʔōse)," are straightforward. But not [383] ʔōs is intended, but ʔūs, that is, a possession, a "thing" (of any sort) and here specifically: the most preciously guarded possession of the virgin body which the boys boldly call their own.

4. The Dance Without Accompaniment

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Dances without musical accompaniment came to my attention only once. It was a nocturnal dance with the name ʔū.ʔu ʔa.ʔbe --- da.ʔba ʔa.ʔbe. These at the same time are the words that the dancers constantly repeat in time with their steps. The dance is performed by young and old, even by the oldest people of both sexes. Three people take part in it: two who approach each other in a hostile manner and a third who tries to separate the quarrelers by dancing between them every time they approach each other.

The step itself is simple: the right foot is scraped forward and then again half backwards in short paces. Immediately after every such scraping motion the left foot, stamping with the whole sole, is brought forward; at the same time the body sinks into a slight knee bend. The movement goes along slowly and jerkily, but it is not ponderous and it is even graceful when a young body executes it lithely. The movement of the right foot accompanies the words ʔū.ʔa- and da.ʔba-; the stamping of the left foot occurs on the first syllable of the word lying between them, ʔa.ʔbe.

D. Beginnings of a Literature

1. Point of Origin

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Outside of the narrow circle of his daily needs, and second to his interest in his own kind, the animal world is the favorite playground of the Hottentot's phantasy. He comes into close contact with domestic animals from the very first day of his employment as a herd boy. Left

to himself day in and day out, from early in the morning until evening, and dependent in his watchman's duties and for his amusement exclusively upon his observation of nature, he soon becomes acquainted with every bird call and he gets to know the habits of wild game and predatory animals as well as the hiding places of all the little animals that spice his scanty meals. All of this comes to him at an age when a childish desire for knowledge and games makes him receptive to everything around him. Later the hunt is his preceptor in natural history. The Hottentot never lacks leisure time in which these impressions can develop, and thus he spins out what he has seen and [384] heard and interprets it in human terms. In its most modest form this takes place when he thinks that he hears words * in animal voices.

*Syllables that are to be sustained are marked with a musical hold. An accent mark is added where the rhythm is especially noticeable in imitation of the animal voice.

A. Animal Voices

Thus a wild dove (*Stictopennis phaeonotus* Gray, shabu-s), probably from the time when it was hunted with thorn-tipped arrows, calls to the man: "/hai kx'o'tse . /hai /huru . /gaba //kxub gom /kxai xuba o!" "You good-for-nothing (literally "pale") man, you are playing a good-for-nothing game, the gaba thorn is a poisonous (forbidden) thing!"

A lark, "huris. b by name (I cannot determine whether it is a *Calandrella cinerea* (Gm.) or a *Clothilauda semitorquata* A. Sm.), has a zig-sagged flight that rises and falls, and at the peak of its zig-sag it makes a clattering sound with its wings and produces an extended rising tone. In this call the Hottentot hears the words Om-dise!, that is "fix up the hut!", which is an admonition to the women to tighten the rush mats of the hut, for this bird call is supposed to be heard especially when a storm is approaching; I heard it in all sorts of weather.

The Hottentot finds an admonition to negligent parents in the cry of the Ikya-~~ch~~iseb bird (which seems to belong to a species of *Pycnonotus*): "Gu-rub shxa-rib . /gu-ri //goe . hu-diro /gu-ri //goe-!" "The Gurub lies alone, the Hadiro lies alone!"

The Hottentots call the black corn crow, the *Corvus capensis* Licht., //bo-rah, which is derived from //bo. ra, "to scratch around the ground

in order to find scraps." In its screeching voice the Hottentot sometimes hears the rejoicing of a happy hunter: "Xu-rigye go /a-os gye. hō.gye go /a-ef gye!" "We (gye, suffix of the first person plural masculine) have drawn (xuri)^{*} blood (/a-os), we have got (hō) a spring-

* The native hunter ordinarily pours the blood from the body cavity of the freshly killed beast into its eviscerated stomach and carries it home.

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bok (/a-ef, neut. sing.)."

The Hottentot also hears dialogues of the birds. Thus, according to him, the white-breasted crow, go/ra-b (3, π.) the Corvus scapularis Daud., which is not very choosy in selecting its food, calls to the above-mentioned corn crow: "//tō.rab, //hō.rab, /kxi-ē-kx(u)m Xau-sa |kxā |ā-gu!" "Raven, raven, come and let us both pick apart (literally, "stab," |kxā, and "separate," |ā.) excrement together."

But the addressed crow remains with its own preference and answers: "Go/ra-b, go/ra-b, kxi-ē-kx(u)m |ha-ma |kxā. |ā-gu!" "Come let us pick apart field bulbs with each other."

The cooing of the turtle dove (/na/i-s) has its own story. The Hottentots relate that the turtle dove was once a notorious cattle thief. She once wanted to borrow an ax to chop up the bones of a stolen calf from the sand grouse, Pteroclorus namaqua (Gmel.), |hanu, with which she lived. But the honest grouse refused her. Ever since the dove has cursed it with the words: "|han-s |ga-mase, |han-s

Here it is especially clear how the choice of the words, their sequence and accentuation, aim at an imitation of the animal voice.

It seems to me that certain observations from the primitive stages of an incipient literature (such as the Hottentots represent) are not without value in determining how man originally came to give his speeches certain rhythms when he wants to free them from oppressive monotony and use them for freer creations of the phantasy. It is no hypothesis but an ascertainment of the actual state of affairs that, in the Nama language, the childish joy in imitating certain animal voices with words represents one way to rhythmical development.

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Another way can be derived from the pleasure that the Hottentot, as probably every people does, experiences when he refines the movements of his body and makes them the expression of his emotions. Thus, the natural movements of the body, which are rhythmical in themselves, have become dance motions. And since among the Hottentots we encounter dance and music and accompanying song texts in close relation, a second source of conscious rhythmization of language appears here of its own accord.

lga-mraae, lôba /kXo-bi te, ī-ta tsaū-ba ina-n lā, ta-naba
āh.ī si l" "You filthy beast (lgarab is the penis, used as a curse word), lend (kXabi) me (te) the ax (lôba); let (ī) me (-ta) chop up (inaniā) the calf (tsaūba)." "I will split (āhūi) your (si) head (tanaba)."

It follows that anybody who understands the language of the animals can also take part in their conversation by means of cries.

B. Cries

The name of a woodpecker (probably the Dendropicus picus cardinalis Gmel.), tī-tī-see, imitates the sustained call of the bird. The Hottentots of my party always interpreted this as an erotic enticement and mockingly pass it along to an imagined Bushman by crying: "ī-mu//kXom gawo, nd gye ūlūes si Yalla ra lba l" "You old Marukam (proper name), this woodpecker is calling for you to copulate with her!"

[386] As among us, children discuss the animals with which they play. Thus, they try to make the "kXachas lizard lie still by singing 533
to it: [Translator's note: two bars of music omitted.] "han - sib 857
//nao - se, āb ūjūni //gde re." "Hey, you, Hamib's (fictitious proper name) grandmother, why don't you sit down!" (Literally, "Lie down like an arrow.")

A dung beetle, that the children spear in order to hear the humming of its flapping wings, is lured with the words: [Translator's note: four bars of music omitted.] "//nao - he, //nao - he o /aru ai
gde - re." "Nachas-beetle, oh, why don't you sit down on the manure!"

λ 539 took the stone, put it in the spot where he himself had lain, and fled (bē).

[399] Now she came and began (//hā "to come hither") to chop up the stone. Then she hurried (lkxōē) after (lgon) him and caught up with him (sao "to follow," //are "to come together"). But he climbed (laba) up a tree (hais). Then she (//hā nā) chopped the branches (//nauga) with (/kya) the ax. But when (o) only a single (/gui/guib) branch was left (lgau); he signaled (ʒʒai "to call") the two lions with the sweat brush (lnabes, see Care of the Skin, p. 212), and the lions came up and caught (*lkxō) her.

Then the man escaped, and when he came (si) to his kraal (//gāus), he slaughtered three (lnona) cows (gomate). But when the lions began to eat (ō) of (doba) the third (lnona //e)s cow, he struck them dead* (ʒno!an).

[825] For he was afraid of the blood lust of the lions after they had tasted human flesh, namely that of the man-eater, who is conceived as being anthropomorphic.

[Text omitted]

Translation of IV

The Aigamucha People and the Hottentots

To (ai) Aigamuchab's kraal (//gāus) people (lkxōm) had come (/kx), and (si) an Aigamucha girl (-aa, personal suff. of the fem. sing.) was slaughtered (ʒāhe) in their honor (-ba, verbal particle, emphasizing in this case the connection with the ind. obj.). But when (o) the time (//aaba) had come (/oa) when they were supposed to be called (ʒʒalhe) (to the meal), [400] they take (ō) their own* (//e)s, root of the

*Because they do not trust the hospitality.

⁵³⁹pret.) the hare (lōasa fem.) away: "Announce (mī "to speak," -ba stresses a relation to the obj.: "to report") to mankind (kxofna, neut. pl.) that they should do (ē "and," imperative, with the personal suff. of the subj. -n, neut. pl.) just as (kxomi) I (tita) do (hi, -na verbal particle of progressive action), pass away (//ō) [and] reappear (lgā). " Thus (tumi) the hare was commissioned (sihe, here probably a true pass.).

And (ū, with the fem. personal suff.) the hare [said]: "As my (ti) grandfather (//naob, respectful term for the moon) does (ta euphonic for ra), so [you, too] pass away and reappear (imperative). That is my commission (goma, interjection). When (ū) he, however (ta with personal suff.) spoke (mī) thus, then the boys [cried]: "What (tareē) are you (-s in tis) saying (ta euphonic for ra) there (ti "so, thus")?" Then said the hare (indicated by the s in os): "Just as I do-- thus goes my commission--so [you, too] shall die goggle-eyed."

"The hare, therefore, intimidated by the boys who interrupt him, proclaims just the opposite of what the moon had ordered him: As the moon sets, so people were to die.

Then he goes home (//aru, vb.) and comes (si) [to the moon]. And the moon questioned (te) him (ti, personal suff.); he, however, remained silent ("speaks" kxom "not" toma), well knowing (jan, ti verbal particle of the pres. participle) that (lkxai) he had (go, verbal particle of the pres.) lied (thumi, with the personal suff. of the subj.). Then the moon shattered (jan "to beat," shari "to burst") his mouth (ame)."

"Ever since hares have had a "harelip" on their upper lip.

[Text omitted]

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Translation of XXXI

Uriah's Father

Uriah's father (li) digs (kxao, narr. pass.) a pit (lia) and has

538 (gal, narr. pass.) the people (kxofna) look for (-re is added to the stem to make the vb.) firewood (/aŋa) and throws (aŋ) them down (fa) into (ina) the pit and sets (kx) them on fire (aŋu "to ignite," narr. pass.). And when (u) a person comes (/kx), he chases (ikxof) after (u) "with" him (expressed by the personal suff. of the 3rd pers. neut. sing. -f) round about (//namibe, vb.) the pit and shoves (aŋ) him down into (aŋ "to stick into") the pit.

But one day (gal tal) the jackal came, after (tal, particle of the pret. participle) he had smeared (aŋxau) himself (-aen, refl. particle) with fat (//nuiha) and had made himself wet (a a); and the two of them (-kya, suff. of the dual masc.) chased around in a circle. Then that one pushed the jackal, but slipped down (aŋxau) and fell (//ni) down (//xona) [himself] and burned up (kxau). Then the jackal went home (//aru, vb.).

But the other dies (//u) and comes to life again (ig) and eats (a) from the Hais bush and [sings]: "Bury (//xau) me (te, suff.), won't you (ye), me, Uriach's father (here without a personal suff.). Bury me in big (gal, with the personal suff. of the related substantive because it is post positive) nais bushes." "I (-ta, suff.), Uriach's father, have died, [but although] dead, I am alive."

e) Animal Tales

538 The belief that certain people have the capacity of transforming themselves, while they are asleep, into animals and, as such, to wander about unrecognized and to observe things that otherwise would be concealed from them, is encountered not infrequently.

The legendary being that the Hottentots call //gaut- b also possesses this capacity to assume any desired animal and human shape. They imagine this being in human shape as a skeleton covered with skin and with feet as long as an arm. "As quickly as a flame flickers up from the glowing ashes and then dies out," -- this is how fast, as a boy told me, the being steps into a hut at night and steals a child. It hammers with him into a cave that it has dug in loose soil and rides upon its prey until it has suffocated in the dust. By day the //gaut- b can also assume animal form. [451] Such a blipspringer, jackal or

53 whatever else it may be, does not flee, for it is invulnerable. The
 625 being appears to people in human shape only at a distance since he
 776 would be recognized by his facial expressions despite all disguise.

539 The emphasis of the Hottentot animal tales, however, does not
 625 lie in these arbitrary fantasies that are only loosely connected with
 the animal world, but rather in the animal characterizations, which
 are executed with sharp individual characteristics, and in the trans-
 ferral of the characteristics to human types. Because the Hottentot
 reveals himself in these animal portrayals as a sensitive observer of
 himself--because, in the manner in which he brings the stories to
 an end, he gives clear expression to his moral evaluation of individual
 types--because here, finally, he does not need to disguise himself
 because of anxiety or utilitarian considerations--for all these reasons
 I regard these tales as the purest reflection of his inner self.

Among the animals behind whose words and deeds the Hottentot
 conceals himself the jackal claims a predominant position. Excelling
 all others in cleverness, he plays his deliberate game with the strongest
 as well as the weakest. The hyena, his opposite, is the symbol of
 stupidity: with the hyena he can allow himself any old joke (Folk
 tales XXXII and XXXIII) and even deceit (XXXIV), insofar as the
 transgression does not offend the feelings of piety that are conceded
 even to a stupid person (XXXV).

The guile of the jackal is crowned with success especially in cases
 when it is linked with personal courage (XXXVI) or where it skillfully
 exploits the cowardice of the opponent (Folk tales XXXVII and XXXVIII).
 In these cases the hated leopard or the more harmless baboon. When
 the narrow-mindedness of the opponent is combined with avarice, as
 in the adventure of the jackal with the Beers (XXXIX), the sly fox
 is allowed to escape from the noose successfully at the last moment.
 When half measures are applied in indecision (XL) or in mildness that
 is badly out of place (as is told of the missionary in Folk tale XLI),
 the jackal is even allowed to get away with deceit, murder and theft.
 But every once in a while they do not begrudge the old rascal a good
 beating when he approaches the "dwarf" impudently and conceitedly
 (Folk tale XLII) or when he is all too dominating with the flamingo
 family (Folk tale XLII).

The jackal has the Hottentot's unlimited sympathy when, as the
 underdog, he is clever enough to get out of the clutches of the stronger

538 one (the lion) [452] (Folk tales XLIV and XLV); and even more so
● 825 in cases when he is taking vengeance for injustices that he has suffered personally (XLVI); and most of all in cases when he breaks the tyranny of the strong simultaneously as an avenger and benefactor of all weak people (XLVII).

The jackal's slyness is regarded from the humorous side when, as both referee and liberator, he teaches the serpent and the porcupine a lesson (XLVIII).

The jackal appears as a Don Juan with varying luck: successfully in the salacious Folk tale XLIX and as the cheated lover in Folk tale L, where he falls in love with the sun.

Next to the jackal the lion is most sharply characterized and humanized in the tales. Everywhere hate or ridicule are showered upon him. He is hated because of his brutality, which makes him the murderer of his own children from the marriage with the ostrich (LI) and because of his violence, which makes it unpleasant even for the peaceful baboon to be his neighbor (LII). In consequence, his punishment overtakes him all the more easily, the more he considers himself superior to the others: even the little aro-lizard leads him around by the nose (LIII). And at the same time he is so lecherous that he does not hesitate to feign illness in order to rape his masseuse (LIV).

He is ridiculously conceited about his power and considers himself invincible. He has to be taught better by the ostrich (LV) and even by the little meerkat (LVI). The silver jackal pays him back so well for his arrogance that his sham authority finally loses all its glory (LVII).

The theme of the triumph of guile and skill of the weak over the crude superior strength of the stronger is constantly repeated in Hottentot tales in ever-new variations and animal portraits. One of the best tales, one that gives us deep insight into the emotional life of the Hottentots in its most varied aspects is LVIII, which deals with the fly and the elephant. Furthermore, the story telling how the "dwarf" frees himself from the tyranny of the elephant is, despite all anthropomorphization of conditions, still kept close to the animal's manner of living (LIX).

As in the preceding stories the fly and the "dwarf" in the two following tales, a bird about the size of a black-bird, called

538 gā-(tsi/ha-mab), plays the part of the weaker party. However, it is superior in battle because of its cleverness. The bird, which appears in the shape of a young lively girl, frees itself and its family from the plague [453] of the python (LX): in another story its attentiveness and guile rescues the girls from murder by the honey badger and his companions, who go dancing with them to the growling reed music of the dorbeetle (LXI).

A simple ruse (similar indeed to the one used by our hedgehog with the hare) aids the tortoise to victory in the race with the ostrich (LXII). Even the giant antelope, the eland, must pay with his life for his arrogance to the tortoise (LXIII). In Folk tale LXIV (as in the Bergdamara adventures) the motif recurs that an important decision or change is placed in the hands of the weak.

In conclusion I offer four tales that, in part crudely naive and in part with a somewhat greater supply of fantasy, are to be interpreted simply as an illustration of certain peculiarities in the external appearance or in the natural history of certain animals (zebra, iguana, baboon, etc.; Folk tales LXV through LXVIII).

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538 In order to avoid explanations in the translations, I take this opportunity to present a list, briefly and generally in simplified spelling, of the animals that figure in the legends. (Those that are only mentioned incidentally and that do not play an active part themselves are given in parentheses.) In the index at the end of the book one can ascertain in which tales the individual animals appear:

1. Elephas africanus (Blumenb.), the elephant, axaob.
2. Giraffa capensis (Lamour), the giraffe, iafb.
- (3.) Procavia (Hyrax) capensis (Fall.), the rock-rabbit, iaub.
4. Taurotragus oryx (Fall.), the eland, ixam.
- (5.) Antilocapra americana Zimmerm., the springbok, igub.
Folk tale name, phab.
6. Rhipidoceros campestris (Thunberg), the reishbok, aria.
- (7.) Ovis aries L. platyrus, fat-tailed sheep, gub.
8. Bos taurus L., domestic cow, gumab.
9. Equus zebra L., the zebra, igreh.
- (10.) Equus caballus L., the horse, háb.
11. Felis leo L., the lion, ami. Folk tale name: gailgāba, that is, "Big back."
12. Felis pardus L., the leopard, garub.

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13. Canis mesomelas Schrie., the jackal, /gʁib. Addressed by the hyena in the tales as "my brother Pale," ti /gā /hahetse because of his yellow fur. In the tales the jackal child has the proper name ūgyeh.
- [454] 14. Hyaena brunnea Thunberg, the brown hyena, /ʃilʃas (specifically White /ʃilʃas), also called "my sister Pointed Run," ti /gā /gōdese, by the jackal in the tales because of its posture in running.
15. Vulpes chama (A. Smith), the silver jackal, /kxamab, hunters' name: *gʁahetoma-b (see p. 283); puzzling folk tale name: *hoegye-/gā-hāxʁ-of ošab, that is "the son (ošab) of the sister (/gā, /kxois, "woman") of all (ho) (mankind) (gye and hā, verbal particle)."
16. Felis caffer Desm., the wildcat, /hōsh.
17. Mellivora capensis (Sparrm), the honey badger, /hahetab.
18. Cynictis penicillata (G. Cuv.), (Mierkatse), the "dwarf" /ʃb (specifically: *uri/ʃb).
- (19.) Canis familiaris L., the house dog, arib.
20. Hystrix africae-australis (Peters), the porcupine, /noah.
21. Lepus, the hare (see p. 283), /oas.
22. Papio porcus (Boddaert), the baboon, /nirab.
23. Struthio australis L., the ostrich, /amib. Puzzling folk tale names: huhah and hingat-bu. Proper name of the ostrich child in the tales: hahetab.
24. Saxicola pileata (Gm.), Kochin, *gātin/hamahet.
- (25.) Numida spec., guinea hen, /kxinas.
26. Phoenicopterus, the flamingo, fala-migob (a borrowed name that is also applied, as it seems, to a heron of the interior).
27. Gallus domesticus Boiss, domestic chicken, hāwari (borrowed).
28. Corvus capensis Dauid., white crow, gʁab or *uri gʁab.
29. Python sebae, python, *at/ach. The rudiments of the rear extremities of this animal are regarded by the Hottentots as testicles, and hence they call the python also *go/ma-ʃkʁa-raab, that is "the one with the oxen testicles." I heard old people call the python *iga-/nigye-/gā/ʃb because the animal squeezes its prey to death (/ga/ʃb) and because his "testicles" are attached in the rear like an apron (/gā/ʃb).

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ride where people are." Otherwise substantively expressed by attaching the personal suff. to the vb. hā "to be"). Thus he spoke and ran away. But the hyena was deposited (literally: "came" d, "with" ū, "jumped" uri, "has been" -he, pass.) by (Xa) the young horse in the horse kraal (ihārah). Then she was caught and beaten and chased away ("told" gāhe, "to go").

[Text omitted]

(400)

Translation of XXXIII

The Hyena and the Jackal Jump after the Clouds

Once (ū) when the hyena and the jackal, the two of them (ūra), were in (ū) the field (ū), clouds (ū) appeared (ū). Then the jackal said: "Sister pointed Run (see page 454), there (ū) with the personal suff. of the subj. in the masc. pl.) some balls of fat (ū, masc. pl.) have appeared (ū), so (ū), with the personal suff. -m, 1st pers. dual masc. -fem) let us jump (ū) after them (ū)!" So he said and continued: "I (ū, pers.) will (ū) jump first (ū), and (ū, with the personal suff. of the addressed pers.) you catch (ū) me (ū, suff.) nicely (ū, adv.), for (ū) then I will catch you nicely."

Then he jumped and she caught him well. Then the hyena jumped. But when (ū) she came down (ū) the jackal cried: "Aha, (ū, interjection) wait! (ū) a thorn (ū, neut. sing.) has stabbed (ū) me, therefore [wait]." Then the hyena fell (ū) to the ground and sprained (ū) her hip joint (ū).

Since that day (ū) the hyena has been lame" (ū).

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"If one follows the tracks of a fleeing hyena, one occasionally sees that the animal has scarcely touched the ground with its left hind foot. Instead of a track only a light scratch is to be seen in the sand. The folk tale proceeds from this observation.

adjective, /ū "leg").

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Then the baboon (I heard the term /ndraba only from old people; the younger ones all say /ndraba) was afraid (laa) and went (liging) away and came (ni) to (deba) the wildcat (hush) and said: "The jackal there (nd, demon, root) whets a knife when (o) I ask about the debt." (441) Whereupon the cat: "He is only pretending (humi "to lie") that (//aa). The High Supreme Dung Chief! (literally: "the unique bird," ya /guise). That is just like him! (ti "to be like," -b pers. suff.). So (tuigye) come on, let (o) us go." So she said, and the two of them went and got there. But again (//ryaba) the baboon was not prepared for the sight ("had not" toma "provided" mu "himself" -en, refl. particle, "for this," with the objectifying particle -ba) and ran away (//hai-ni).

Then the cat called (ga) to him again: "The jackal is lying; he will do (di) nothing (di "something," the particle of the fut. negative) to you (ni, suff.); so come, let's tie our tails (shakya, dual masc.) together." (//are "to unite," ga "to bind"). So she said and they came there. But the jackal leaped (pham) at both of them (ga, suff., in the dat. acc. case) with the knife.

Then the baboon fled while (hia) the cat cried (ni, ta c ta, ti "then," with the pers. suff. of the subj.) "wait!" (//nam). And when (a) she wanted to hold onto ("kyihawen) herself to (ai) the bushes (hain), he pulled (ihum) her out (du) along with the bushes. Then finally the baboon stopped (//a, vt.) running, and the cat said: "Come, let's go back (na), the jackal is pretending, believe (gum) me, won't you?" (a, with the suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing.) But the baboon refused (phai) and did not go back."

"Here, too, the Hottentot sets up a causal relationship between the tale and the animal--one which is so well known to the natives that the narrator no longer stresses it: when the two animals unknotted their tails again after their wild flight, it turned out that the baboon's tail was bent. As punishment for his cowardice it has remained that way ever since; see the illustration on p. 288.

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she refused (phag) and remained." Then the lion went (himself)

But the jackal dragged (phag "to climb up," g "to take") all (phag) the
meat (phag) up into (phag) the giraffe tree and left (phag) the skinny giraffe
behind. Then he roamed (phag) out the fat and roamed a round quartz stone
(phag) into (phag) the grease (phag). Now the lion came (phag) and cried,
and the jackal answered (phag). [Then the lion cried:] "Pull me (phag, suff.)
up (phag "to climb up," g, see above)!" Then a thing (phag) (phag) was
let down (phag) to him (-phag, in the predicate, objectifying particle), and
he was drawn up (phag): but just when (phag) he arrived (phag, phag + phag) (above),
the thing was cut (phag) and (phag) and he plunged down." Then the jackal

⁷ phag signifies: a) the pressing of moving cattle
against the udder; b) to drop, with the suff., end-
ing -phag: to plunge down.

said [to his mate]: "Give me a newly (phag) prepared thing. -- [and
whispered]: "Give me an old thing!"

But when the lion could not manage (phag "to be unable," phag "to
come forth"), the jackal said: "Eh, open (phag) your jaws (phag, phag) and
(phag, with the suff. of the 2nd pers. pres. sing.) catch (phag) this (phag) piece
of fat (pres. sing.) neatly (phag)! And be sure that it does not (phag + phag)
fall (phag "to set," g "to happen") on the ground (phag), for (phag) if (phag,
particle of the present) it falls, it will go to pieces (phag)." Then the
[lion] opened his jaws, and the fat (with the red hot quartz stone in it) fell
right down (phag, ph.) into his mouth.

Then the jackal cried: "Eh, [run] to (phag) the water! (phag) To
the water!" But he did not get there (phag) to the water, but died (phag).

Finally: "while he did not get there, he died." -- The same plunged
through his intention and tore open his anus. For that reason -- this is what
the Hermann told me when I asked for further details -- every lion, when it
has killed an animal, then gulps down a piece of hide in order to close up
the hole that the glowing stone made.

260 SOCIAL HABITS AND CUSTOMS

842 As a rule boys are preferred to girls, since they increase the military strength of the tribe and help to defend its herds, as well as to augment them on raiding expeditions.¹ There is no record, however, of any observances or food specially designed to secure the birth of male children, although, as we have seen, the husband of a woman who has only borne daughters may take a concubine.

847 Women who do not want children achieve their aim mainly by
[842] abortion, which is not infrequently practised. Contraceptives are
[845] apparently unknown. The principal abortifacient is the inspissated
urine and faeces of the rock rabbit or dassie (*Hyrax capensis*), gathered
from the clefts and crannies it inhabits. A decoction of this, boiled
and strained, is taken in large doses, if necessary for several days in
[848] succession. A certain thorn bush (*Sarcocaulon* sp.), pounded
whole and boiled, is also used, while still another method is to keep
binding the abdomen tightly round with leather straps until delivery
is forced on.² No motives are given by our authorities for abortion,
although presumably it is practised chiefly in case of illegitimate
847 pregnancy. According to Wandres, both the woman and anybody
[842] assisting her to procure abortion are, if discovered, brought before
the tribal council and punished by thrashing, while at least five sheep
or goats are claimed as court fees. The usual number of lashes for
such an offence is forty, of which the woman's lover can, if he wishes,
take over twenty.³ The same punishment was given to a pregnant
woman if the women manhandling her found on her abdomen the
outline of an old, secret delivery.⁴

843 The first symptoms of pregnancy, according to Hottentot ideas,
are usually not the cessation of menstruation, but the onset of sickness,
vomiting, lack of appetite, etc., providing that the woman does not
normally suffer from these complaints. From the time that she feels
herself pregnant, she is carefully massaged on the abdomen two or
three times a week, for an hour to an hour and a half at a time, by
two of the old women of the camp, who take note of the growth and
position of the foetus. Conception, according to their ideas, takes
place in the bladder, where a second bladder is formed in which the
embryo is then enclosed. The uterus is only an appendix to the

¹ Van Fraunce, *Nama and Damara*, 214; Opp, *Anglo-Popular*, 27; Schellin, "Hottentots," 201-2.

² Schellin, *Hamaland and Kalahari*, 200; Lottin, "Magie Medicines of the Hottentots,"
esp. pp. 201, 202; Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Hottentots," 608.

³ Wandres, *loc. cit.*; cf. Lottin, "Das Recht der Hottentots," 201.

⁴ Schellin, *Hamaland and Kalahari*, 200.

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then she must go to the water and commence throwing it about, ²²⁴
and when she is tired her servant must continue to do so, otherwise ^[372]
the husband will return empty-handed.¹ Schapera mentions also
an old-time regulation that the night before hunting the elephant ^[834]
every hunter had to refrain from sexual intercourse. Should a man
violate this rule, the elephant would point him out with its trunk
and "pile up earth against him"; the culprit was then no longer
allowed to take part in the hunt.²

Men out hunting, again, may not mention the name of the baboon, ²²⁴
otherwise they will find nothing. The lion and the jackal, in the ⁸²⁵
same way, must be referred to not by their proper names, but by
circumlocutions, the former as *gai /gab*, big brother, the latter as
gai-lemmal, he-who-may-not-be-called. Anybody killing a baboon
or a lion must afterwards slaughter a sheep or a goat, and hang the
lowest cartilage from the spine of this animal round his neck with ^[753]
a strap so that it lies between his shoulder-blades, otherwise he will
suffer from lambo! Anybody, again, who has killed a damie
must hang its skull on one of the poles in his hut, so that he may soon
kill another. If a hunter has shot game, and the bullet does not
cause immediate death, the man will throw into the air a handful
of sand, taken from the footpans of the animal; this, it is believed,
will soon bring the animal down.

Omens also enter largely into the life of the hunter. If a hare ²²⁴
crosses his path, he will immediately return home; but if it runs ⁸²⁵
in the same direction as he is proceeding, the omen is good. So, too, ⁷⁸⁷
if a certain kind of chameleon creeps on him or his weapons, or on
anything belonging to him, when he is resting on the road, he is
assured of success; and again the *koehaan*, if it does not fly far from
him and soon sits down again, is believed to give luck, but if it con-
tinues to fly far away he had better return.³

These usages and beliefs almost certainly represent only a fragment ²²⁴
of Hottentot hunting observances and lore. In them, however,
we can see how in hunting by pursuit, where the elements of chance
and danger are always present, elements beyond rational control
based on experience and technical efficiency, these ritual observations
and beliefs bring confidence to the hunter and assure him of good
results or protect him from ill-luck, enable him, that is, to maintain

¹ *Field Notes*, pp.
² *Op. cit.*
³ *Op. cit.*

⁴ *Op. cit.*

⁵ *Op. cit.* "The Hottentot," p. 1; *Idem*, op. cit., p. 11.

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and on this he broke the leg of the sheep. The animal was then slaughtered, the spears heaped up against a bush, and the entrails of the sheep hung over all their points. Next the young man lay down on his back. A stripe was drawn over his stomach from the navel to the breast-bone, and along it from thirty to forty small cuts were made close together in a row, the blood flowing freely. "If the knife is blunt," adds Wikar realistically, "they must cut two or three times on the same spot, then indeed he makes a wry face, but this doesn't help." Once through this operation the young man was a full-fledged hunter; "he had merited his laurels," as Wikar puts it, and was allowed by way of token to twist the sinews of the rhinoceros through beads and shells which he then wore as a bracelet on his arm. The slaughtered sheep was now completely eaten, skin and all, but the bones and other inedible parts were burned or buried, to keep the dogs or children from getting at them. With this meal the ceremony was over. From now on the initiate might "eat with" on all similar occasions.

This ceremony, Wikar continues, is performed in the same way whenever an elephant, hippopotamus, or buffalo is killed. It is a fixed rule among the Naman that when they go out hunting the man who first touches the animal with his spear, if only to scratch it, is regarded as the "master killer", even although another man may deal the actual death blow. He can then go through the ceremony himself, or must hand over the privilege to one of his friends. In another context Wikar states that the ceremony is held only when a man has killed a beast of prey or other noxious animal, such as the rhinoceros, hippopotamus, buffalo, or snake, and also the baboon, which is held to be the prototype of man ("da is de code njien nje mame by laar"). It does not take place on the killing of a giraffe, "wild horse" ("white poodle", ? wildbeest), karabont, etc., since these animals are not very harmful or dangerous, and it is therefore no great merit to slay them.

Campbell describes the same ceremony rather early: "When a man, for the first time, kills an elephant, an-ore, or rhinoceros, particular honour is attached to him, which is expressed by insignia similar to those in Europe, only made of different materials. They compose rings of the coriacle of the skin animal, which they put on his arm, and then he commonly wears." 224
554
301

773 from the roots *lei*, tree, and *ei*, face, likeness, appearance, arriving thus at the meaning "the One who has the appearance of a tree". In support of this he notes that another and shorter name of *Heisi Ekh* is *Heigrih*, Great Tree, from *lei*, tree, and *gri*, big.¹

Heisi Ekh is said to have been a great and celebrated magician among the Hottentots in prehistoric times, who did miraculous things. The Naman all describe him as their great-grandfather, and as a powerful rich chief. He lived originally in the east, and had plenty of cattle and sheep. He conquered and annihilated all the enemies who killed his people; he was clever and wise, and could foretell what was going to happen in the future. He was born, according to one tale, of a young girl who had chewed a kind of grass and swallowed the juice, thereby becoming pregnant. The boy was as remarkable as his birth. He committed incest with his mother; he fought and killed various evil monsters; he conquered great lions, and put enmity between the lion's seed and mankind. He could change himself into many different forms, and was able to go through mountains and rivers when pursued. He cursed the lion, the hare, and the vulture, and to his commands are ascribed the habits of these creatures, as well as certain human observances. He died in many places, was buried, and always came to life again; and another legend represents him as being reborn as a young bull from a cow impregnated by eating grass.²

773 His "graves" are found all over the country, in the Cape Colony
774 as well as in South-West Africa, generally in narrow mountain passes on both sides of the road. Natives passing these graves, which consist of great heaps of stones piled up high, throw pieces of their clothing, or skins, or dung of the oxen, or twigs of shrubs and branches of trees, as well as stones, on the heap.³ This they do, says Hahn, to be successful on their way; and they generally, if hunting, utter the following prayer:—

0 Heisi Ekh,
Thou, our Grandfather,
Let me be lucky,
Give me game,
Let me find money and more,
That I may live thee again,
Are there not our Great-grandfathers?
Thou Heisi Ekh!

¹ Op. cit. 1929.
² Hahn, *Reisende des Ap. in S. Africa*, 17-18; *Ethnologisch in Namibia* "Die Namen der Toten des D.A.W.A.", 1913, 211; Hahn, op. cit. 44-45; Hahn, *Lebens der Nama*, 1910-11 (Ottensmeyer), 1911; Hahn, "The Nama", 1914.
³ Hahn, *Reisende des Ap. in S. Africa*, 17-18; Hahn, op. cit. 44-45; Hahn, op. cit. 191; Hahn, *Lebens der Nama*, 1910-11 (Ottensmeyer), 1911; Hahn, op. cit. 44-45; Hahn, op. cit. 191.

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the chief will therefore order him to be deprived of all his power. 791
He is taken to the nearest pool of water and ducked completely. 754
His power, residing in his body dirt, oozes away from him into the 823
water, as it were, and he is an ordinary man once more! Mrs. Hoernlé
states that she knows of two instances in which this course was
adopted.

In the same way, the medicines of the /gui and can also be rendered 754
innocuous by immersion in cold water. Mrs. Hoernlé records the 823
case of a girl who had been bewitched and who nearly died as a result.
She was finally cured by the medicine which is all powerful against all
witchcraft methods. "This is the //a /naip, the kidney of a species
of jackal, which has a smell so strong and penetrating that it is too
much even for any /gui medicine. When this was given to the girl,
she vomited and brought up the little /gui sticks and leaves which had
been doing all the mischief. The mother showed these sticks and
leaves to some old men who took them all away and threw them into
cold water, so that their power was gone for ever."¹ Here we have
another instance of the purgative value of water, to which attention
has already been drawn.

It is difficult to determine what other regular functions the /gui and 791
has apart from the curing, or causing, of disease. Hahn speaks as if
the /gui and formerly officiated at the boys' puberty ceremony, at the
occupations of warriors returning home after battle, and at the
slaughtering of a cow or sheep "as an offering to the deceased or to
the Supreme Being";² but he gives no further details and there is
no other statement definitely connecting the /gui and with these rites.

Elsewhere Hahn mentions "a class of sorcerers" chiefly occupied 789
in making rain, "who in former times must have been very numerous,
but since the introduction of Christianity are only met here and there
on the fringe of the heathen tribes."³ "Having a great practical
knowledge of the meteorology of their country," he says, "they
pretend to have power over the clouds and to bind them. Thus they
spinkle their urine into a burning fire, being convinced that it soon
will rain. They also cut the nails of their fingers, and throw them into
the fire for the same purpose. They catch a kind of caprimulgus
(/ga(/gud), and burn the bird to ashes, which are blown about,
in order to produce clouds and rain. These sorcerers naturally
take good care not to display their tricks of witchcraft if there are,
according to their own practical experience, no sufficient indications

¹ "Social Value of Water," *loc. cit.*² *Op. cit.*, pp. 22, 23.³ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

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away from the spot, the people gathered hope that the patient would recover, but if it remained lying where it was, they abandoned both hope and any further treatment. 787

In addition to these more or less standardized methods of divination, the Hottentots also place great faith in omens. Of these there are a great variety. Dreams, the flight and cry of birds, the direction of the wind, celestial phenomena, the beat of the pulse, nervous twitchings, forebodings—all these, according to Olpp, can have significance.¹ Some kinds of omen we have already described in connection with hunting, war, and the moon. Vedder records one or two others.² Many symptoms on the body of a dying person, or on the bodies of relatives, and, above all, strange ways of behaviour among animals, are regarded as precursors of death. Again, if the corpse of a living acquaintance or a relative appears to a person in a dream, "he has to exert himself so ward off approaching death by means of circumstantial ceremonies. Having performed these ceremonies secretly, only after a year may he relate his dream, as by then the time for its realisation will have expired, failing which he will be regarded as a murderer should the person die within that year and be treated accordingly." 763

The appearance of the mantis, again, is an omen of extreme good fortune. This little insect does not appear to enjoy the same reverence among the Hottentots as it does among the Bushmen, but the Nama believe that it brings luck if it creeps on a person, and no one is allowed to kill it.³ The Cape Hottentots, according to Graeberstroek and Kuhn, regarded it as a favourable omen of the highest significance.⁴ If it went so far as to alight on man or woman, says the latter, the former or belonging to the latter was killed. The lucky person received the entrails and the fat, and wore the caud twisted about his neck till it was cut off, or until some other person was honoured in the same way by the mantis. The flesh of the ox was cooked, and the man or the woman feasted upon it, according to the sex of the person on whom the mantis had alighted. The mantis, of course, was never killed or injured, for to do this would turn the omen into one of disaster and destruction. The insect, however, does not appear to have been paid to (although in South Africa it is still popularly spoken of as the "Hottentot's god") nor does it figure at all in the mythology of the people. 797 825

¹ Op. cit., etc. ² *Op. cit.*, pp. 101-2. ³ "The Nama," 191-2.
⁴ Op. cit., etc. ⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 101-2; Kuhn, *op. cit.*, 17-4.

752 a solution of tobacco juice diluted in water as an emetic. Tobacco
 278 juice taken from the stem of the pipe may also be rubbed into the bite
 or into a cut made near it, and Schultze seems to think that this really
 may be an effective antidote. Another favourite remedy is white
 • [825] potassium chlorate, in the form of the inspissated urine and faeces
 of the damie purified by the action of the atmosphere, which is rubbed
 into scarified snake bites and scorpion stings.

752 The immunization against snake bite reported of the Bushmen is
 also practised by the Hottentots.¹ One of Laidler's informants,
 the "poison doctor" for the northern parts of Little Namaqualand,
 learned his profession from his father, who in his turn had been
 similarly taught. He stated that when he was a boy—and to begin
 with the boy must have a good constitution—his father made two small
 cuts above the elbow of each arm, into which he rubbed a small portion
 of the dried venom of the cobra and night adder. Two weeks later
 his father prepared a lump of venom containing several varieties,
 and gave him a piece to hold upon his tongue until he felt "funny and
 shivery". This was repeated twice weekly. Then he was given a
 piece to swallow. The dose was increased daily until it reached the
 size of a pin's head, and this dose the informant was still taking every
 day. The only venom not used in this process was that of the puff-
 adder, which his father told him rotted the flesh. Men immunised in
 [751] this way are known as *!as/ga aas*, snake-bite men, and they treat others
 bitten by snakes. Apart from the regular antidotes and cures already
 mentioned, they often use the perspiration from their body and
 clothing, either rubbing it into small cuts made near the bite or mixing
 it with water which the patient is required to drink. This form of
 treatment is, of course, reminiscent of that employed in the *lep* diseases.

278 For internal and certain other troubles the Hottentots use a great
 781 variety of herbs and roots. When any of the roots considered really
 powerful medicines are dug from the ground, states Mrs. Hoernlé,²
 something has to be given in return, otherwise the root will not
 lift, and similarly when it is passed from person to person a present
 must also be given. When taking the root, one addresses it with
 the words: "Ah, there I have dug this, and if you don't help me,
 [823] harming me rather, I shall throw you into cold water"—another
 instance, it will be noted, of the preservative power of water. Elsewhere
 Mrs. Hoernlé mentions, by way of example, that the root used in

¹ Laidler, *op. cit.*, p. 29; Schultze, *loc. cit.*

² "Local Value of Water among the Nama," p. 11.

757 argument, be a good "blood giver." This is an instance of the modern application of ancient sympathetic method.

757 The further information here gathered together, represents the work of four years' questioning, checking, and corroborating statements made by many herbalists, not a few of whom were also practitioners of witchcraft, that is, practitioners of major qualifications. One took four bottles of water mixed with earth and the ground remains of a certain little red-headed hornet that builds in houses and huts. Before rising each morning he drank a mouthful of the suspension. On the fifth day of this treatment: "there lay the sick people—and there lay the medicines. And now proved the new power between the shoulders." Here, perhaps, is some small relic of the initiation of a man into the cult of F/gai² asp.

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278 Only occasionally is there a little resemblance between the herbs used by the Native and those of the modern occidental pharmacopoeia. Yet there is a sufficient similarity between them to cause the sufferer to cease his suffering, and realize that here, after all, lies the root and origin of modern medicine—modern scientific medicine which owes at least one of its drugs to this ancient Hottentot herbal, namely, Buchu. The bitter roots are similar in appearance on cross section, colour of infusion, taste, and action to the *Rafis Columbo* of modern pharmacy. But, with this one exception, there is no commercial future for any other item. The quantity of most of the herbs and medicinal bushes in the country is but small.

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278 Red substances are used in anaemias and weaknesses, and repeated doses are given during fevers. They are used, several authorities state, because they are red and the blood is red, and therefore they strengthen the blood, and, of course, when grown on red ground, their value as drugs is increased enormously. All such red materials when used and finished with must be disposed of carefully, because good stuff must never be thrown away. Root worth, for weaknesses, Baboon's ear, the Kollum blume, Root yainbia, are examples, and in each the reason for use is their colour, and, should they grow in red ground, they must be good. The same principle is expressed in the use of the dark lichen which grows on almost all granite outcrops in Namaqualand, which is used in decoction as a mouth-wash for tooth-aching.

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724 Beyond makes young people's medicine as the moon grows during the first days of the month, and never prepares any when the moon is on the wane. Yet he always examines cut sections of roots to see if they come from poor ground. He evidently works on a combination of "scientific" and "sympathetic" lines. The same medicine prepared in a different manner may have a different action. Thus, if black root be cut in an upward

[148] The way to printing and reading I have denoted the circles thus:—
D/ the dental; S/ the spinal; C/ the cerebral; L/ the lateral and
H/ the general.

TOXICOLOGY.

125 The snake stone has been a famous antidote in all countries. 157 The South Africans imported them from India, but few farmers could afford to purchase this remedy because of the expense. Barrow examined specimens and pronounced them to be pieces of firm bone charred round the edges leaving a white speck in the centre. When thrown into water, a snake stone caused bubbles to rise and this test was a proof of genuineness. It adhered to the snake bite, sucked out the poison, and was cleansed by soaking in water which it turned blue. Country people believed that it was obtained from the head of a snake. 125 The snake stone of the Hottentot is quite a different matter, though it also is believed to be part of a snake. A young Richtersveldt gave this description: "I saw a snake's light. If you see it afar off it looks like a person's fire, but I know that there are no people there. Go nearer, and then it is seen that the light walks about. Then I keep away. I have heard that if a snake's hole be closed with earth that the snake then bites himself to death. Next day the snake stone is found in front of the hole where he dropped it when he went away."

Then, two hundred miles south of the last informant, says that at night a twinkle is seen on the rocks, and that is a snake stone; and it is seen because the snake is away at the river. Then, to procure the snake stone it is necessary to keep a good look-out, and to approach cautiously with a handful of burnt dung, which is to be thrown so that it puts out the light. Thereupon the absent snake becomes blind and cannot see, and can only creep blindly to and fro. Next day the dung is picked up and the snake stone, which is the snake's strength, taken away. He is ordinarily a strong-tempered fellow, but after losing his stone he becomes weak, and cannot sit up to bite. The stone is used by the Natives together with bush medicines for poisonous swellings. Probably it is one of the numerous quartz crystals, loose or embedded in the rocks, which cover in profusion all over Namaqualand, and that reflect light at evening time.

27 Jacob Kloss, whose father was a full-blooded Nama, is the 159 Poison Doctor for the Northern portion of Namaqualand. He learned his profession from his father, who in his turn had been taught by his father. He states that a boy must be strong to begin with, that is, he must have a good constitution. His father made two small cuts above the elbow of each arm, and into them rubbed a small portion of the dried venom of the cobra and night adder. Two weeks later his father prepared a lump of venom that contained several varieties, and gave him a piece to hold upon his tongue until he felt "funny and shivery." This was repeated twice weekly. Then he was given a piece to swallow. The dose was increased daily until the size of a pin's head was reached. Though now about forty years old, Jacob still takes his daily dose. The only venom

not used in this process is that of the puff adder, because his father told him that it eats the flesh.

The treatment that this man adopts for bites of the others is incisions over the bite; he then places a piece of venom in his mouth and proceeds to suck the wound. He also gives the patient a small dose of prepared venom to be swallowed, which he says, compels the poison inside so that he vomits it out. Puff adder bites he treats similarly.

Jack catches snakes by breaking their backs and so paralyzing them; they must not be killed. The head is fixed with a forked stick, after which the snake may be picked up by the back of its neck. The sacs of poison are carefully dissected out, each intact with its long, from beneath the eyes. The sacs are ligatured at the base of the fangs to prevent the escape of venom. They are then hung up to dry. They are not mixed. Jack uses no head cloth, and therefore scrapes the greasy, sweating head of his old hat and mixes this with water to give to the patient. This internal dose is given only when it is seen that the poison "has got to the heart," and is given, as is the venom, to compel the injected venom. Either the sweat or the venom will do. Both have the same action. He also uses Bo Meester, and gives this drug internally for as long as the patient may be ill, and applies Black Elephant or Dactylis plaster externally. One other old snake catcher gave me exactly the same information.

The galls found, the D'ong D'ong, is by all, white and black alike, credited with being deadly poisons. The only poisonous lizard has its habitat in Mexico; but Jack dissects out some glands and uses it in the same manner as the venom out of the snake.

Another Poison Doctor explained his immunity thus; after eating poison the snakes smell the man, do not like him, and run away from him, therefore, spittle and sweat are curative. (The Dutch used to give high prices for skins of Poison Doctor and chills.) Here, once again, the sympathy becomes apparent.

In a country that Nature has cursed with multitudes of snakes, spiders, and scorpions, men and animals for their bites and stings naturally learn a large portion of the folk medicine. Katsun, a potato-like root, sweet to taste, is used raw, in slices, applied wet to the wound to draw out the poison. Yellow Kads wood, ground, is used as a poultice. This appears to have a certain caustic action. The crushed head of the snake may be applied as a poultice to snake bite. Bo Meester may be rubbed into abrasions over the bites. Powdered spider or tarantula is used as a poultice over their bites. In the case of scorpions sting the particular animal if possible is captured, its tail pulled off, also itsippers, the body is ground and applied as a poultice. In each case of scorpions sting that the writer has treated, the body of the scorpion always accompanied the

White Kafir-wort. A bush with a red flower, unidentified, which grows around the Orange River, powdered fine, is crushed for flatulency, and is a very pungent stuff. Also used in decoction for the same purpose—slightly bitter. 278
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White vervain, a white chimney-like root, is powdered and used by some as a plaster, by others as a snuff. Barrow declares that this is "first class" for headaches. Here, again, the principle is that of "driving out" by means of an explosive action.

PULVICES.

Flowers and pulvices are of common use to-day, and it appears that a soft fat application, whether cure-dung, the inside of a gnat dismembered alive to prevent loss of heat, or a preparation of herbs, was a favourite remedy with the Hottentots. The bulb of the C. lous P. onion, *vallichium blairi* or field chive leaf, a large soft onion-like leaf is warmed, smeared with fat and applied to any swelling. *P. nama glauca* has been mentioned. *D. nama D. nama* was also used as a plaster, and this particular preparation is jeppery, and has the same action as a mustard plaster.

The large number of bushes contained in the Hottentot Pharmacopoeia is the reason of certain seemingly filthy remedies being used. The modern gut-dung pulvices is an animal preparation of immemorial repute, a preparation, too, worn and ready to hand of selected bush leaves. What then could be better to apply to a sore stomach? Such pulvices have been applied by white people for peritonitis, appendicitis, pericarditis, and innumerable other complaints. "Who knows more concerning the medicinal herbs of a country than its aborigines?" And where could finer ground, ready to hand preparation be obtained than from the stomach of a gut or sheep? The stomach of the porcupine is dried and portions infused or required. Its action is dysenteric. One man said that as long as he had that medicine he would never need any white or black doctor's help. Again the argument is that the porcupine eats so many "bad things and strong things" that his stomach contents must be very good medicine. [25]

OTHER REMEDIES.

L/eeu ore. The most famous animal product, one that figures even in the price lists of the modern wholesale chemists is *Desmodium*, L/eeu ore, or D. goss, the impregnated urine and faeces of the rock rabbit, gathered from the cliffs and crannies inhabited by them. Diluted and strained the liquor is given in dry catarrhs, during parturition generally, and for impregnation of menstruation. In large doses it is believed to be the perfect abortifacient. Deposits of *Desmodium* added upon by the chemists, which gradually removes all the organic matter from a dark pitch-like mass, the *Desmodium* of commerce, which 278
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65 gradually changes into white potassium nitrate. The black intermediate product is called in Afrikaans *swart te meester*, big black master, and the final product purified by air, to meester, or grand big master, is potassium nitrate; it is the "big boss" of all medicines, *dasiepis* being given internally in decoction or infusion for all sorts of poisoning of whatever origin, and it is rubbed into scarified snake bites and scorpion stings. It is also used in such minor complaints as stiffness of the back and pains in the stomach.

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[194]
897 Killawoot is boiled, strained and given as a tea in insufficient flow of waters during parturition, and also for unhealthy menses, trisectia. In large doses it is used as an abortifacient, in smaller doses for pains in the back. To-day it is considered an ideal medicine for children.

[826] Nasal mucus is an old Hottentot remedy, a handy one and probably the first ever used, for burns. The real snake skin is burned and the powder used for the same complaint. The ease with which the snake leaves its old skin and its similarity to the thin cuticle covering a blister are probably the reason of its use.

Hygiene dung is precious, and in powder is given to children for convulsions. Among its modern uses is that of an ineffective powder in cases of diphtheria. So strong is the faith in this remedy that no man, whatever be his colour, will see that white patch of faeces without pointing to pick it up.

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171 Skin drawn warm off the living animal were used as an application for any severe pain. The use of such remedies has been world wide. It is mentioned by Miss Durham in "Man," 1913, 90, among some Balkan remedies, and the explanation for the use of warm sheep skin is similar to the Hottentot's explanation of his use of the porcupine's stomach—that the animal eats all sorts of herbs and that by this remedy the mixture thereof is enabled to soak into the patient.

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28 C/gama, a small greenish lizard about four inches long, is believed by the Native to be very poisonous. It is quick in movement and is called by the Nama, who kill it by thrown stones, the fastest snake. The body is dried and powdered, and this is rubbed into excoriations over snake bites.

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757 The Kanker beetle, or cancer beetle, is a small red and black flying insect which appears in decayed wood in spring. It is rubbed to pieces on warts—when the wart is expected to rot or to fly away. The more modern-minded Herard uses Euphorbia milk for this purpose, but goes a step further with the beetle, for he applies it to cancers.

PRESCRIPTIONS.

An old and much praised remedy is called C/ganap, which consists of burned and powdered ostrich egg shells mixed with tall fat of sheep or goat. This is rubbed into the chest of

CBO

equanimem, quæ impense delectantur. Tabacum infantes
aque ac senes, feminas ac maris, in maximis delictis
habent, ita ut quavis sola invidiam, famanem tamen
fataliam sociis per vires distribuunt. Crescit in his oris
¶ *Ari Africani* radix, tanta polens acrimonia, ut linguam
non modo adurit, sed & acerrime lancinet, venenis merito
accremenda. Hanc *Hottentotii* coquendo mitigant (igne
siccum expellente saifer, volatiliem simul & aerem ligante
salem) ut cum apta sit hanc radix, ¶ *crinaceorum* (qui hic
miras effigies sunt.) dapes. Nonnullibus, veluti arfactis &
pulverulentis pelibus (quæ pro calido aspe die facere vult
quin & excrementis, modo non nulla, venantur incompediti
omnes ad unum, etiam non casibus *Reps*, villosa
mendicabula, ut singuli ferè *Nyrtas* sunt.

CAP. XVII.

De *Madæ* *Bullandæ*.

Nihil est hac plaga infestius, ubi tempestatibus strus
codum, saxique montes incolarum ingenuis congerere
sunt; unde asperæ & in flagitia asitæ mentes cum nulli
nostratium indolis hanc conveniunt, bellum levissima de
causa suscipientes. Arma illa sunt præter curticam
lancem (qua clypeo loco utuntur) arcus & tela: Hanc vel
¶ *profectoria*, quæ alio accurata ad scopum collineare
solent, ut ad quadraginta passuum distantiam, propellunt
offendunt punctum, quæque primo jactant brachio; vel
parastoria, quibus bipennibus magno alio ad arcum
vibrata, hostes transverberant. Ea plerumque impuro
veneno hinc in modum insunt; viperam aliove infectum

¶ *Alidæ* a me delineat. (Illustrated by me elsewhere.)

¶ *Quorum* figura alid quæque dedit. (I have given drawings of
these elsewhere.)

¶ *Volgo* *Amagayen*.

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[34] ¶ The use of poisoned weapons is very generally associated
with the Bushmen, but there is sufficient evidence that the *Hottentots*
also knew and practiced it. Ten Rhyne's description of how
the snake poison is applied need not be taken at its face value.
A more reliable account is given in the descriptive notes to the
plates accompanying the journal of van der Stille's journey to the
Karooberg (1886-8). On one of the plates is figured a snake,
called *Akashana* by the *Hottentots* and called doubtfully, and
incorrectly, identified by Waterhouse as the mamba. The accom-
panying note says: "The natives set large traps for this snake
and poison their arrows and assegais with its powerful venom.
They first remove the skin from the upper jawbone, and dis-
sect the mouth & a small oblong bladder, full of little glands.... They

Infants and old persons, women and men are equally
addicted to tobacco: and jealous though they are of what
is their own, yet among companions they hand a lighted
pipe around in turn. There grows in these shores a root
of the African Arum, with such a pungent taste that it
not only burns the tongue but sharply cuts it. It deserves
to be classed among the poisons. The Hottentots mitigate
the pungency by cooking (the fire expels the horrid
sulphur, and at the same time binds the volatile and biting
salt) to make the plant fit for food; and it is a feast for
beige-bugs, which are here of a remarkable appearance.
They also feed on quite inedible things, like dried and
dusty skins (often such as have been long in use as shoes,
and even on sacraments, but always mixed with other
things; for to a man they are without delicacy or savor,
not even excluding the king, miserable beggarly wretches,
like almost all negroes.

CHAP. XVII.

Their Manners of War.

Nothing could be more unfriendly than this region, where
the savage storms and steep mountains are marked by
the character of the inhabitants. Their rough and cunning
disposition suits ill with the easy temper of our countrymen,
and they resort to war upon the slightest cause. Their
weapons are, in addition to a skin cloak which they use
instead of a shield, the bow and javelin. These are either
projectiles (i.e. barbed straight at the mark), commonly
called *coups*, which they can direct so accurately at a
mark that they can hit a fixed point at a distance of forty
paces, and which they fling with a downward motion of
the arm; or also designed for carrying to a distance, in
which case they are balanced by two wings, and being skill-
fully launched with great force fly and transfix the enemy.
They usually imbue these weapons with poison in the
following way: they irritate a viper or other noxious snake,
then into the mouth of the angry creature they repeatedly
glance the tip of the weapon. They bind the creature to
prevent the weapon from falling out, they encourage it to
increase the strength of the poison, and then chop its
head off. It is from miliary glands that vipers spit

And tie up the circumcised bladder near to the tooth with a fine
thread, in order to prevent the venom from escaping. Then when
the bladder is dry they divide and smear the dried weapon
with it. (Waldmann, *Journal* v. 4, *St. J. Journal*, 1844, Ch. 10
Schoppe, op. cit., 128 ff.)

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 [1858]
 the poison that is so often fatal to our countrymen. The poison can be swallowed without doing harm; it is deadly in a wound. If natives are ever struck by this poison, they heat the injured place for a long time with a stick and suck it vigorously. This is the most ready remedy for those infected.⁽¹⁾

726 Our countrymen have often come off with heavy losses from encounters with the clever tactics of the natives. For the natives have learned from the lions, which are here very common⁽²⁾. In rainy weather, which puts our numbers out of action, and damps our strength and spirits, while they depend on running for their criminal success, the natives bestir themselves in thickets and tough undergrowth; then, producing their weapons, they fall upon the enemy, owing their success rather to the rain than to their arms. Not in open places, and under a clear sky, they are more prone to take a cry and take to flight; they slip off in all directions into the neighbouring woods and thorny hillocks, where they must be hunted down before they can be conquered, a formidable task with these wild, woodland creatures whose arrows are so dangerous.

But if a mighty host of them encounters a small company of our men, then they rush upon the enemy with the invincible ardour which barbarians mistake for valor, sometimes shouting hoarsely. Yet they shrink from getting within range of the guns of our men, although when they fight among themselves they come to closest quarters. Thus the pronouncement that Florus made about the Iberian Gades had a complete parallel in the Hottentots. They have the temper of wild animals (I am quoting the words of Florus) and behave more than human. But it has been found by experience that as their ardour is at first fiercer than that of men, so it dwindles till it is feebler than that of women. The hollow of a mountain folk bred amidst mist clouds have a resemblance to their native snows. They warm at once to the battle, fall immediately into a swirl, and are dissolved by a slight effort, as if by the sun. But the fiery rocks and shuddering winds match their real fierceness. For the Hottentots hang about the mountains, scouring every part of them by night and day.

⁽¹⁾ A further description is given below, p. 121.

⁽²⁾ A more detailed explanation of these tactics is given by Sapper. See above, p. 11. Ten Rhyne's account of Hottentot fighting methods is on the whole borne out by the contemporary records, cf. e.g. D. July 26, 1673; Schapera, op. cit., 202 ff.

for this except as a gift, and black and cheaper stuff, which they think better; also of glass and bronze beads; and, in addition, a few jars of brandy, for most of the natives are great drinkers. For these goods they get in exchange oxen, cows, and sheep, sometimes panther skins, etc. At first the traders display a big portion of tobacco, generally about two spans long, for the ox or sheep that is to be exchanged, always adding a little bit (this they call *horvoms*), otherwise the natives do not think themselves bound to keep the contract. The natives also often demand a lot of brandy. Then the portion of tobacco must be gradually reduced to at most one quarter.

On their first arrival, especially to the powerful Koesquas — the Governor sends his men to them only once a year, so that by means of the long delay they may be the more eager for their tobacco, etc., and on these occasions they come a long distance to meet our traders, bringing with them a prime wether (they call it *stom schape*) — a portion of the tobacco must be given as a present, for which their return is the gift of the wether. On an occasion like this as many as 100 or 200 oxen, in addition to sheep, may be acquired by our men. But care must be taken not to let them see the supply of merchandise; otherwise our men would be in instant peril of death. They were taught this lesson by the brother of the King of the Koesquas, who, if the old king himself had not prevented it, would have killed them all for the sake of plunder.¹⁷⁾ A son of the old king is at present on the throne, and rivals his father in his love for us. None of them will ever exchange a white ox or cow, which they look upon as an invaluable leader of the herd.¹⁸⁾ This observation they perhaps adopted from the Egyptians, who worshipped Isis in the likeness of a white cow, and who inhabit the same quarter of the globe as they do. Their first prayer is that the Great Chief (for they pray to God) should send them a white ox.

The usual haunts which these disciples of Mercury make on their journeys from the Fort are: (1) *de Ruyterwacht*, beyond which none of our people owns a farm; (2) *de Kuylen*, hence to the first river in Hottentots Holland, which is the limit of the control of the Noble Company; (3) across the lofty mountain in the same; (4) to *Kaffenhuis*

¹⁷⁾ I have been unable to find any official account of this incident.

¹⁸⁾ No other contemporary writer, as far as I am aware, mentions this special reverence for white cattle, nor is it found confirmed in the works of later authorities.

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his death is not known, but it must have occurred some time before 1738, when his will was filed with the Cape Orphan Chamber (Cape Archives O.C. 4 No. 16). In it he directed that his body should be buried not in church or churchyard, but in the courtyard of the house where he died; and he chose as his own epitaph the words: "His unexpected resurrectionem J. O. de Grevenbroek C. F."

That Grevenbroek had been engaged in compiling an account of the Cape and the Hottentots seems to have been fairly well known during his lifetime. The earliest reference to his work appears in Peter Kolb's *Capei Bonae Spei Hottentorum* (Nürnberg, 1719), the most detailed and serviceable treatise we have on the early Cape Hottentots. In discussing the Hottentot customs relating to the Mantle, Kolb says: "For long I did not know what to call this insect, as I had never seen it, nor could I believe that they worshipped such an insignificant creature, although I had occasionally heard this stated. At last Mr. Johann Wilhelm de Grevenbroek, a man of remarkable industry, understanding and knowledge, who after serving several renowned ambassadors had finally come here as Political Secretary to the Illustrious Company, taught me from the notes, which he had likewise made concerning the Hottentots during his residence here, that this insect was really a sort of beetle" (p. 418). There is no other mention of Grevenbroek in the whole of Kolb's work.

Valentyn's *Beschryfinge van de Kaap der Goede Hoop* (Amsterdam, 1728) tells us more about these "notes" of Grevenbroek's. Writing of the Hottentots, Valentyn says: "I have seen a Latin treatise by Mr. Secretary Grevenbroek, who had taken the trouble to write an elaborate and able account not only of their manners and customs, but also of their language; this treatise he allowed me to read in Stellenbosch in 1706" (p. 196). He adds that from it he learned about the dialectical differences of the local native languages as illustrated by the forms of the numerals; and also extracted a small Latin-Hottentot-Dutch vocabulary, which he then prints (pp. 196-8).

There is no further mention of Grevenbroek's work until 1783, when in his posthumous *Journal Historique du Voyage fait au Cap de Bonne-Espérance* the Abbé de la Caille, who was at the Cape from 1731 to 1783, violently attacked Kolb as unreliable and inaccurate, and went on to assert that everything Kolb had written about the Hottentots was derived from Grevenbroek. "M. Grevenbroek, . . . an extraordinary man," says de la Caille, "had made some researches into the manners and customs of the Hottentots. After his death his papers were sent to Kolb, who placed them together without any skill or judgement. This I was

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with a prominent nose or a prominent nose. If there be one lame among them, or one maimed in hand, arm, eye, or any other member, that defect he owes to enemy, wild beast, or accident, not to his mother; for the women there, in comparison with other lands, are less subject to disturbance and weakness of the mind, they have healthy bodies, beautifully proportioned limbs and sturdy frames, and they bear splendid children whose vigour only age can weaken and destroy.

Our countrymen went on a trading expedition some distance from this place and encountered a people whose wife were not all of wood; for when our men, who as it happened were nicely groomed, and had either shaved or not yet come to grow a beard, were spreading out their wares for sale and inviting purchasers, this people cast a humorous snarl at them, that they should summon their husbands if they wished to come to terms, for they never did business with women. This from savages!

Their hearing is quick, their sense of smell acute, and their sight, as I have said, so keen that when in quest of honey they perform the amazing feat of following with their eyes the tiny bee in its flight to the honeycomb whether it be lodged in a lofty rock or hollow tree or hidden cave. And if perchance, owing to the intervention of thicket, wood, river or other obstacle or hindrance, the bee should elude the sight of the pursuer, then he checks his course, turns his face towards the west, and diligently watches for another bee winging its way on the track of the former; this then serves him for a guide and brings him to the desired prize).

Moreover I have observed that our Africans are led to the bee's nest by the song and flight of a certain little bird that is very fond of honey⁹). It is said that other birds give

much of honey," he says, "the man will follow the bee as far as he can with his eyes, say at least 10 or 15 yards; in that line of sight he will search for a dropping of the bee and will find it; he will then in the next line of 10 or 15 yards search for another dropping, and the line of these two droppings will indicate the course the bee took to the nest. . . . There is a Hottentot at Wierand who is a great expert in brewing honey beer. . . . This fellow told me himself of this manner of finding the honey by following up the droppings of the bee." (Froese, *S. Afr. Phlox*, Soc., 1886, lilia. Froese p. xv).

⁹ Popularly known in S. Africa as the "honey guide" (*Indicator* spp.). The natives of Bechuanaland and elsewhere still obtain honey through the agency of this bird, as described by G., and are always careful to leave a little behind in payment.

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● 825 warning in places beset by lions or other wild beasts. And I myself have seen some that betray the presence of snakes. It was by the help of one of these that I came upon a ten-foot, parti-coloured tree-snake, with a very sharp tail and of beautiful appearance, which was, without doubt, intending to seize the bird, or its young, or their nest. An additional proof of their keen sight is that native watchers on shore most faithfully discover the approach of ships to this harbour long before they are visible to European eyes; so that it might be said that in sharpness of vision they rival that Scyllian, who, if we may believe Strabo, did from the Lilybaean promontory count the vessels of the Carthaginian fleet as they sailed out of their own harbour.

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192 24 A leg of the local mutton does not, owing to their hateful gourmandise, tempt the nice palate of our dainty countrymen so powerfully as a shoulder of European lamb.

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262 [262] They live for the most part on beef, mutton, all sorts of game, and other flesh that suits their taste, well roasted or boiled. They also eat sea fish and river fish, and in this they differ widely from the inhabitants of the inland parts, who refrain from every kind of fish, even shell-fish⁷). They live also on wild fruits and roots, and other unpurchased victuals; and whatever else hunger and the belly that is the dispenser of invention has taught gluttons to devour, this they swallow down into their insatiable maws; nor does that barking dog, their stomach, spare whales or other monstrous fish which the tide casts dead or alive upon the shore. Such are their choice feasts!

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415 321 In eating liquids, or liquid food, they use spoons fashioned of ox-horn, and sometimes also sea-shells. Or they dip sponges in honey or milk and suck them.

S
H
262 [262] They reject and refuse the flesh of boars, wolves, lions and other wild and carnivorous animals, as unclean, forbidden, and nourished on filth, nor do they think it right to taste butter and eggs. Boys may eat the flesh of hares, but only until provided with a wife. All refrain from sheep's milk as injurious, saving children who are allowed the use of it.⁸)

⁷) This applies to the AmaXhosa, of whom the survivors of the "Slavevans" reported that "they eat no fish, nor anything that comes out of the sea." (Oodé-Mohsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, III, 68).

⁸) [See pp 182-8] for further note. - Ann/p/E]

The prime duty of the men is to pasture the cattle and tend them, and to protect them against attack of lions or any wild beast or crocodile. With sure aim they strike attackers with javelin or arrows heavily poisoned.

At the fall of evening the pastured cattle are brought into the enclosure, and each beast is tethered to a stake by the left forefoot. The women then draw the milk from the swollen udders, and if any cow, as commonly happens, tries to withhold it, at once comes a woman, or sometimes a man, who applies her mouth to the vent of the obstinate beast and blows in.¹⁷⁾ By this means the milk is made to flow from the reluctant udder.

They wear a wallet hanging from the neck on to the breast, in which they carry an arrow-head, a knife, tobacco, and a tube with which to drink the smoke of it, with a few trifles in addition, and one or two copper coins of which they have managed to cheat our fellows, and, what is of most importance, a piece of wood no bigger than a grape, as an amulet. An old-womanish superstition makes them suppose that this piece of wood will avert all dangers if darkness should surprise them in open country infested with lions and snakes, when they must pass the night in the bush under the open sky in watchful vigilance.¹⁸⁾

With regard to the scarab beetle their credulity leads them to entertain a similar illusion, and they hold it to be of good omen if they find one in their huts, for they worship them as divine, nor will they suffer a European to attack one, much less to injure one; they gently catch it up, carry it off to a deserted place, and set it down there in safety, upon doing which they look forward to a lucky day.¹⁹⁾

¹⁷⁾ G.'s "scarab beetle" is really the Mantid, still popularly known as "Hottentot's god" in S.A. The Bushmen paid a good deal of reverence to this insect, which figures very prominently in their mythology, but among the Hottentots it is not a mythological figure, although, as G.'s description shows, its appearance was regarded as a favourable omen of the highest significance. Kolb is even more lavish in his account of the joy with which its sighting on a person or hut was greeted (op. cit., 416 f.). The modern Naman still believe that it brings luck if it crawls on a person, and no one is allowed to kill it (cf. Schapera, op. cit., 247).

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361 CANTU HISTORICUS ANTIQVARIUS ANTIQVARIUS

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Valua herbarum sicut per applanum et lundum, aut curandam fella, aut bullerum quorundam tunica, etiam lundum bulpro adque obligatum curant, sanctique vultu ferunt, et in ditionem sui partem denuit abluunt, et quoniam venationem animalis papugit vel comorrit, aut si quis virulentis arde lacus, prolixis ejus cras, pedem aut brachium supra collumque plagam vincturi, mork, facit, aut lute ardentem sicutas angulis circalenti, et ne virus per venas latus corpori contrahant, variisque includentes cultro aut apiculis circum valua recta descendenti non transversa linea per calum facit, continet vir aut mulier accurrit, creque plagas admole, virus omne erugit. O factum bene! quid hac ope medicina praestantur? quid hac fide major? quid hoc aliotharmam salubritas?

Cupido admodum confectionem bulpro dicit. Utrum lant intrum verat lacte propemodum complent, luraque ejus oritum contrahunt, quoniam dicitur luraque, et utraque extremitate solutum, ultra citraque divaricatis cruribus stantes comorrit, quoniam et contrahunt, dicitur etiam in bulpro conglaciat conrebusque ali.

Si lute contrahit contra hanc remedia malum ingravescere, illuc insistentur viperam, anguem aut serpentem qualemque obitum, quoniam natiem apud sanctum ferunt, aperteque effracteque ejus ore, omne virus et edunt, quod duabus vestrulis quantum vel avellana caperet, et alitum sanctum, in utraque manilla iusta dentes situm, qui moros luti hominum bullerumque corpori, per furamen, quo vicinum eis virus reaperunt, concavi illud vulnere inspirant: has vestrulas cum aliquot scorpionibus aliisque luteis simul mistas et alias cum vaccine lacte, tanquam sacram anchoram aegro pro potione medica dant, adhibentes male huc modo malum cunum, nequeque hoc clavo clavum felicitas pellunt! ultimique serpentem totum quantum candentibus carbonibus tralatum in pulverem lapidibus commoluit, quo sancti corpus, praecipue vulnera perficit, haecque medicamentum un explorationem.

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*) cf. Ten Rhyn's description, p. 148 f. above.

*) See above, p. 128.

*) The modern Hottentots still use snake poison on occasion as an antidote to snake bite, a small dose of prepared venom diluted in water being swallowed. The crushed head of the snake may be applied as a poultice in case of snake bite, powdered spider as a poultice for spider bite, while in the case of scorpion sting the particular animal if possible is captured, its tail and

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They treat wounds by introducing into them through a pipe the juice of plants, or else they bind them with the leaves of plants or the coats of certain bulls, using also unsmelted butter and lard. They also wash the wound with the urine of the wounded man, reducing the quantity to half by boiling. A sting or bite from a poisonous animal, or a wound from a poisoned weapon they treat with great skill. The injured leg, foot or arm they at once bind above and below the wound, very firmly, in order to check the circulation of the blood and prevent the poison spreading along the veins; then they make various incisions in the skin with a knife or spear-head round the wound, not across but in descending straight lines; then immediately a man or woman runs up, puts his lips to the wound and sucks all the poison out⁽⁷⁾. O noble deed! What could be better than this medical aid? Where shall we find greater loyalty? What more effective antidote exists?

If you wish to know their way of making butter, I can tell you. They take a skin bag, with the woolly side in, and almost fill it with milk; then the neck is tied tightly with a thong, and the butter-maker, standing with his legs apart, and holding one end of the bag in his left hand and the other in his right, moves it vigorously up and down, to and fro, shaking and churning it, until the cream has been raised and hardened into butter⁽⁸⁾.

If by chance the trouble increases in spite of these remedies, forthwith they look for the first viper, snake or serpent they can find, and kill it and bring it to the wounded man. Then they break open its mouth and take all the poison from it. This poison is contained in two little glands. There is about as much of it as would fill a nut-shell; it is like the white of an egg; and it is situated in each jaw near the teeth. The teeth are hollow, and when they are fixed by a bite into the body of man or beast they transmit into the wound through the opening in them the poison they draw from the glands nearby. It is these glands that they mix with scorpions or other poisons, boil in cow's milk, and administer to the sick man as a last hope. In this they are often successful, applying the toughest wedge to the toughest notch, or driving out a nail with a nail, as the proverb says. Finally they toast the whole serpent on glowing coals, and grind it to powder with stones. With the powder they rub the body of the wounded man, especially the wounds⁽⁹⁾. Experience has shown them the great worth of this remedy.

skinner pulled off, and the body ground and applied as a paste to the wound. Schapera, op. cit., 480. O's observation therefore appears to be accurate enough.

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A vicious, criminal person who is judged worthy of the extreme penalty is exposed to danger like a straw man, that is to say, he is well trussed up with skins, provided with a spear, and flung to a man-eating, cattle-raiding lion, to curb his rancorities. All then rush up to his support, and should he prove the victor they hail him with shouts of triumph; his brilliant exploit restores him to his former rights; the action of the law is suspended, the charge is set aside, and all congratulate him on being now cleaner than a salt-cellar and quite freed, in universal popular opinion, of the stain on his character⁽¹⁾. And not without reason, for a lion who has once tasted human flesh prefers it to all other as being the most delicate.

Lions also set a special value on dog-flesh. One day a lion ate a dog. The head of the animal was thrown near by in front of a trap. Next day when the lion came back for a renewal of the feast he was observed to prefer the dog's head to a living wether tethered two paces off to a shrub. As the lion went past the wether without touching it, he was pierced by bullets and fell. Lions are so fertile that they would lay the whole countryside waste were they not kept down in various ways. Often when a lion goes off hunting for itself or its young, on its return it finds the lair empty of cubs, which through natural ferocity or the pangs of hunger stray too far from their den and become a prey to men. Or they perish of hunger, if the lioness or lion is killed by the weapons of our men or in a trap. Also when a lioness is in heat the lions follow in troops, and their sexual rage is such that they tear one another to pieces with tooth and claw.

When a lion comes back from a kill it disburdens its belly of its load of flesh by vomiting it up before the cubs, and the lioness likewise feeds them on undigested tasty morsels as well as offering them her dugs.

A man who kills or captures any sort of lion is paid by officials from the public treasury a sum of sixteen and two-thirds silver rams, commonly called a rix dollar, as a reward; if he kills or captures a leopard he gets ten, and three for a wolf.⁽²⁾ The rewards are intended to stimulate hunters, some of whom have been made so eager that they have learned only with the loss of their lives how fierce a lion is to touch and how dangerous are the teeth and claws of a dying animal.

offer premiums for the destruction of these beasts. The original scale was: for catching and killing a lion, 6 rials; a "tiger" or hyena, 4 rials; and a leopard 3 rials (D., June 22nd 1664). In every case the dead animal was to be exhibited to the Commander of the Fort.

776 It may suffice to state, that I have observed the same
[821] dancing and singing towards the moon, and that I fully
can endorse Kolb's statements. As will be seen in another
page of this essay, the moon really is considered to be a
deity, who promises men immortality.

776 But to return to our worthy Magister, he speaks also
of another being, whom he calls the *other Captain of low
power*, from whom some of the natives (the sorcerers,
[gai-aga]) have learnt witchcraft. *He never does good to
men, but always harm. They, therefore, must fear him,
show respect to him, and appease him.*

This coincides, according to my own experience, with
the [K]auna worship of the [A]nni tribe, close to Wale-
sch Bay and Sandwich Harbour, who offer prayers to
[K]auna, although they call him an evil-doer, who even
kills them when they are out hunting. If Kolb says the
name of this being is *Tougeou*, then he is mistaken; he
has simply misunderstood his informer.

● 825 On page 416, 417, and 418, Kolb speaks of the
worship of the Mantis insect. This has been doubted by
various authorities. But from what I often had occasion
to observe, Kolb's remarks are quite correct. The Nama-

[77] quas believe that this insect brings luck if it creeps on a per-
son, and one is not allowed to kill it. Strange enough, they
call it also [K]aunah, as they call the 'enemy of Tedi-ii goah.

778 At the conclusion of his remarks on the religion of the
Kheikhoi, Kolb supplies us with some valuable informa-
tion about the places of worship. He says: "These Hot-
tentots have neither churches nor chapels, made with the
hands of men, but they consider in their mind that
certain places are sacred, because their ancestors have
received great luck at such spots. Those places are to be
found in the deserts, and consist of stone heaps, others
are rivers, . . . and they never pass such a deserted
spot or hill without offering worship to the saint who,
according to their belief, inhabits the place, and who has
done so much good to so many of them." (P. 418.)

children to the thinly disguised contempt of the foreigners 69 rendered fruitless all attempts to gain deeper insight into their religious ideas, partly through a natural shyness and fear of ridicule, but chiefly through a stubborn unwillingness, based on a fear of ill-treatment, which still characterizes the Khoikhoi. These travellers utterly failed to get into the confidence of the natives. In justice to our travellers, however, I shall relate what they have recorded.

"By the side of the road," says Thunberg, who travelled in the Eastern Province of our colony, "I observed a heap (stone heap) covered with branches and shrubs, on which each of our Hottentots, in passing by, "threw some branches. Asking them for their reason in doing so, they answered that a Hottentot was buried there. (Thunberg, German edition, i. p. 84, Berlin, 1792.) "Of a certain kind of greyish grasshopper (mantle fauna) 125 ● the people here believe that the Hottentots offer prayer to it."—(Thunberg, vol. i. p. 68.)

Sparrmann, again, is very doubtful whether the Hottentots after all believe in a Supreme Being. He informs us that, according to the statement of the Khoikhoi themselves, they were too stupid to understand anything, they never heard of a Supreme Being. This, however, does not entitle our author to infer that the Khoikhoi had no God or religion. My experience would lead me to explain what Sparrmann relates. It is a striking feature in the nature of every savage, especially of a Khoikhoi, to pretend the greatest ignorance, though, for all that, one knows that he is very well informed on the subject. It is very trying and annoying indeed to a traveller.

But myths, tales, legends one seldom will get out of a native by questioning. He must be a very intelligent native, with an unprejudiced mind, who will answer at once questions of that kind to an inquisitive stranger, especially if he shows any hauteur.

Our author, however, did not believe in his own state-

On the 3rd of August the waggon went on to Anisip⁷⁷⁸ (An-*gail*) or Wetfoot, and I went out of the way, with Jan Doy and two or three men, to see a hole which was supposed to be inhabited by Hojo Elich, or the Devil, and was the wonder of the country."—(Alexander, vol. ii. p. 350.)

Again: "This water-place was called Kama Kama (Goma-*lyma*), or the water of the bear tribe, and near it was a heap of stones, eight yards long by one and a half high, in a *dyt* between two cañons, which the Namaquas said was a heap over their deity Hojo Elich (Heitai-*elich*). . . .

"I turned aside to get water at the fountain, 'Ahua, or⁷⁷⁸ blood (I*hu*). In this was said to dwell a snake, which¹²⁵ guarded it; but, strange to say, when the fountain was reached it was found to be dried up, and a water-snake, about six feet long, brown above and yellow below, lay dead beside it. The Namaquas immediately cried out, 'Some one has killed the snake of the Fountain of Blood, and it is therefore dried up.' Not far from the Fountain of Blood a young Bushman and his wife was met, and the woman accused her husband of having committed a great crime. She said that the day before they had drunk at 'Ahua, and the Bushman, seeing the snake there, killed it. He excused himself by saying that he was a stranger in that part of the country, and did not know that the snake he had killed at the edge of the water was the snake of the fountain.

"Ahua was not the only fountain in Namaqualand which was superstitiously believed to be preserved by a snake. It was singular enough that it should have dried up immediately after the death of the snake.

"Numsep, the Bushman guide, came to me labouring⁷⁷⁸ under an attack of "dysentery, and said that he was about to die! I asked him what had occasioned the disease; and he said it was from having dug for water at the place called Kuisip, in the bed of the Kuisip River, near our

1. At a child's birth a fire is made in the house⁹⁴⁴ with the fire-drill (dorch). No steel or flint or matches³⁷² are allowed. This fire is to be maintained until the navel of the child has healed, and the "umbilical cord has fallen off. Nothing may be cooked or roasted on that fire. If these points be not strictly observed, the child will die.

2. If a Khoikhoi go out hunting, his wife will kindle²²⁴ a fire. She may not do anything else but watch the³⁷² fire and keep it alive. If the fire should be extinguished, the husband will not be lucky. If she does not like to make a fire, then she must go to the water and commence throwing it about the ground. If she is tired, her servant must continue pouring water about. If this be neglected, the husband will not be successful.⁷⁷⁷

3. J. Campbell, visiting v. d. Kemp's mission station,²²⁴ Bethelsdorp, in the eastern province, in 1812, says:—
"They (Hottentot women) likewise gave me a piece of something like resin, which is found on the sea-shore. Before their husbands went to hunt they used to set this on fire, and while the fire succeeded they prayed to the Great Being for their success.

4. I have already mentioned that throughout Great²²³ Namaqualand it is believed that in each fountain lives²²⁵ a snake, and if that snake leave the fountain or be killed, the fountain will dry up. This snake is called the *ǃGahet*, "the one which lives in a hole."

5. If before the commencement of the rainy season¹²⁵ snakes move about more than usually, the Khoikhoi say there will be abundance of rain that year:—

6. Capt. Alexander tells us in his admirable book, "Expedition of Discovery to the Country of the Namaquas, &c.," vol. i. 115:—"Hares I found plenty of at the Orange River mouth; there is also the large eland-buck to be found here; and an immense snake is occasionally seen, whose trace on the sand is a foot broad. The natives say that, if coiled up, the circumference of this snake is

Equal to that of a waggon wheel; and when it visits the Orange River mouth, it is a sign of a good season for rain."

196 The name for snake is *ju-b* (sing. masc.), and for fountain *ju-s* (sing. fem). Blood is also *ju-b*; bloody, full of blood, saturated with blood, *ju-xa*. According to Khoikhai custom, as I pointed out in the first chapter, the daughter is always named after the father. It is therefore obvious that the fountain water *ju-s*, is considered to be the daughter of *ju-b* the snake. But *ju* originally means to flow. And *ju-b*, the snake, or *ju-s*, the fountain, is nothing else than saying, *he flows or she flows*. The snake, however, is the one who flows over the ground, and in German we say, "Der Fluss oder der Bach schlängelt sich durch das Thal" (i.e., the river or the brook winds through the valley—i.e., it moves like a snake, winding). It is now quite transparent that the original meaning of *ju-b*, snake, was the one who flows, and was identical with *ju-b*, blood, which also meant that which flows, the "flow-er." It does not require an explanation why the blood flowing through the veins should be called the "flow-er." A similar idea connects in the Teutonic languages, *Wut*, blood, blood, *Wut*, *Wuth*, *plut*, *blut*, with the Latin *fluxus*, and *fluere* and *fluere*, although the change of consonants does not appear to be quite in accordance with Grimm's law. (Vide Weigand's "Deutsches Wörterbuch, Blut.")

The streaming and flowing of the cloud—that is, the rain—is also derived from the root *jan*. *!Au-ib*, or, as it is generally written by the missionaries, *!awib* (it should at least be *!avib*), is the rain; to rain, is *!au-i* or *!avi*—that is, to be streaming, to be flowing. *!Au* signifies also to bleed, and consequently to be angry, to have an ill feeling. Thus one often can hear, *!Autai-ra khoib ke*, That man bears an ill-feeling against thee—i.e., that man has been hurt by you, he bleeds, he feels sore, and craves for satisfaction. This phrase expresses extreme pain. We say also, *My heart bleeds*.

The colour red, *java*, also takes its origin from *jav*, to flow blood; hence *java* or *jawa*, blood-like, blood-coloured—*er*, red.

And at last, to well is also *jav*—that is, to cause to flow, to make streaming—*vis*, the milk.

To return now once more to *jav*, *maña*, and *jawa*, fountain, 196 we see how both words were predicative expressions, saying 123 *he or she flows or streams*—*vis*, the water, which in Khasakhi 125 can be either masculine (*igami*), or feminine (*igama*), according to the emphasis of the speaker; afterwards these words become appellatives, meaning the flow-*er*. And as these words came from the same root, *jav*, the object which made the greatest impression on the human mind—and this was certainly the poisonous fiery snake, whose bite caused pain, and sometimes immediate death—became masculine; and the soft cooling water, which refreshed the exhausted wanderer, and nursed the trees, and gave life to the plants and herbs, received the feminine suffix. Then, when the original meaning of *to flow* and *to stream* was forgotten, mythology got hold of *jav* and *jawa*, and made sure that in every fountain lived a snake.

In German, or, better, in the whole realm of Indo-171 European folk-lore and mythology, we see, all over, the serpent and the water brought into connection. When Winkelried killed the Dragon, "a rivulet suddenly streamed out of the hole of the Dragon." All legends of dragons and serpents have their origin on the banks of lakes or rivers. We refer to Hercules, who killed the Lernaie Hydra. Apollo kills Python close to a fine flowing fountain, as one of the Homeric hymns tells us:—

ἄγχοῦ δὲ κρήνη καλὴ ῥέουσα, ἐν δὲ δρῶσιν
κρίων ἄρα Διὸς υἱός, ἐν δὲ κρηνοῖσι βίβω

At the fountain of Ares watched a dragon, who refused water to Kadmos and his followers. In Switzerland, if rivers break down from the mountains after a thunderstorm, the people say: "A dragon has come out." In Denmark Müllenhof found a legend, "that in the spot where once

(77) a Lindworm's (i.e., a dragon's) trail was to be seen, now a leech is "winding. Beowulf kills the dragon who lives in the lake. Ascheton, the River-god, became a serpent when Hercules fought for Deianira. Siegfried kills the dragon in the cavern on the Rhine; and many more instances too numerous to mention. (See on this subject, Schwartz, "Ursprung der Mythologie," Berlin, 1860, especially pp. 58, 59, &c.; Pausanias, "Hecale," p. 252; "On Serpent Worship," Leakey, "Origin of Civilization," pp. 186, &c.; Müller, "Amerikanische Urreligionen.")

• 125 So much as to the Serpent and Fountain superstition among the Khoikhoi. I have eagerly searched, but in vain, for indications of a serpent worship among the Namaquas, as we find among the Kafir tribes, especially the Ama-Zulu. What I heard and saw with my own eyes amongst the natives may here find place at once.

125 Not so many years ago a sorcerer died. When he felt his end approaching, he whistled, and all at once snakes of all sizes and of all descriptions came and assembled round their master, and crept over him, so that the eye-witnesses from whom I have this, and other people who were in the hut, cleared out as fast as their feet could carry them. The same person told me that he had a dispute once with that sorcerer about the power he exercised over the snakes, when the man told him that, if he doubted his witchcraft, he would call as many snakes as he wished to see. Upon which he whistled, and snakes of every kind approached from all directions, and the sorcerer took them from the ground and put them round his neck.

125 In January, 1872, I was on the mission station Warm Bath (or Nisbet Bath), in Great Namaqualand. I offered payment to the value of three and four shillings for large snakes, especially for very poisonous animals. No sooner was this known than a young fellow, of about twenty-two years of age, came to me and said he would bring as many as I liked, but he wished a goat for each pair. I agreed, and after some hours he returned with a pair of

yellow cobra. Not seeing them, I asked, "Where are the §25 snakes?" And he opened the shirt over his chest, where I saw the heads of the two dangerous animals. He took them each by the neck, and I applied a dose of tobacco-oil with a brush to the mouth and nose of each, when they immediately fainted, and were secured in large bottles. Afterwards the same fellow brought me over so many other snakes, all alone.

On another occasion we were travelling, when a large yellow cobra moved towards the waggon with the intention of attacking one of my bullocks. I immediately grasped the shot-gun, and jumped down from the waggon, when the snake took to flight. I, however, gave her a very good charge in the neck and head; and in her agony she flung herself a distance of more than thirty yards into the bushes. It struck me that my people after this treated me with a certain awful respect, and telling each other, "gai-ah ka, gai-ah ka," he is a sorcerer—he is a sorcerer, kept always at a respectful distance. I had some trouble afterwards to convince them of the contrary.

Snakes are also said to be very fond of milk. They go at night to the cows in the kraal and suck there, or even to women in the house. And if a woman refuses they bite her. The same thing happens when a cow kicks them off.

Another snake, the ¶Ganin-iguh, is said to have genital, and while women are asleep this snake tries to have connection with them. I was once at a kraal, and the people were in great excitement, and sat up the whole night, because a girl while milking had seen the ¶Ganin-iguh approaching her. Not a single woman was to be persuaded to go to sleep, and everybody had some weapon to defend himself against the ¶Ganin-iguh.

Another kind of snake, the ||Huitailia, is said to live on the forehead of the eland-antelope.

7. To proceed in our account of superstitious customs ¶¶¶

10. The root of a shrub called *[Klerod]* is taken and cut ²⁴ to pieces, and mixed on stones. If one is hungry, he ⁷⁸⁴ takes the dust and goes to his neighbor's house, where he throws it into the fire, expecting that food will be offered to him. This kind of charm is called the *huf-tar*, or food-finder, food-provider.

11. The roots of a shrub *[aloe]* are also taken and thrown into milk, in order to cause the death of the person who drinks of it. The root is not poisonous at all, and still it is believed to cause the death of a person.

12. Another class of sorcerers, who in former times must ⁷⁸⁵ have been very numerous, but since the introduction of Christianity are only met here and there on the banks of the heathen tribes, are chiefly occupied in making rain. Having a great practical knowledge of the meteorology of their country, they pretend to have power over the clouds and to bind them. Thus they sprinkle their urine into a burning fire, being convinced that it soon will rain. They also cut the nails of their fingers, and throw them into the fire for the same purpose. They catch a kind of caprimulgus (*[gigir-b]*), and burn the bird to ashes, which are thrown about, in order to produce clouds and rain. These sorcerers naturally take good care not to display their tricks of witchcraft if there are, according to their own practical experience, no sufficient indications of certain rain.

Throughout the Khoikhoi territory, as far as I could ⁸²¹ ascertain, the northerly breezes are called *tufoab*—i.e., rain-wind—showing that in the remotest ages the observation was made that the northerly wind was the bearer of rain.

13. Also, if the goats commence to shake their heads and ^[825] rattle with their ears, it is believed that it will soon rain. It is a matter experienced by every one, that when the weather is very close, the mosquitoes and a smaller kind of flies are very numerous and troublesome. In summer the easterly wind is very close, and as soon as the wind turns

221 to the north it generally rains. Hence the origin of this superstition.

224 14. Hunters, especially, have superstitions of their own.
787 If a hare crosses a hunter's path, the hunter will immediately return home: but if the hare runs in the same direction as the hunter's path lies, it is considered a good sign.

224 15. If a certain kind of chameleon (jarojab) creeps on a
787 hunter or his weapons, or on anything belonging to him,
825 where he is resting on the road, he is believed to be successful.

16. Also, if the Egyptian vulture (*Neophron percnopterus*), which we already met in Heitei-elib's fight with the Lion, follows a hunting party, and always rests where the party has rested, they are sure to be lucky. On the whole, this vulture seems to be a prophetic bird, and its sagacity is well known from the following story, which I heard dozens and dozens of times all over Great Namaqualand:—If the jackal has discovered an ostrich nest, he will look for the white vulture, and then scream out. The bird now follows him, and as soon as they come to the nest, covered by the ostrich hen, the vulture takes a stone and goes into the air vertically over the nest, from where he drops the stone on the breeding-hen. The ostrich, startled from the sudden cutting pain, runs off. Then reynard approaches, and breaks the eggs, and both he and the vulture have a grand feasting in the most amicable manner.

I myself have never seen it, but I have been assured by very respectable and truthful old Namaquas, and I, for my part, believe it.

17. The Korhaan (Otis Kori), if it does not fly far from the hunter and soon again sits down, is believed to give luck, but if it continues to fly far away the hunter had better return.

224 18. If a hunter has shot game, and if the bullet does not cause immediate death, the man will throw a handful of sand, taken from the footprints of the game, into the air

22. Another custom, common to Khoikhoi, Bushmen³⁰⁹ and Berg-Damara—of whom the latter have entirely adopted¹⁷¹ the Khoikhoi language and manners—is the practice of⁷³³ cutting off a finger. This is done even to new-born¹⁷⁶ children who are not a day old. As all sicknesses are⁷⁴² expected to come from !Gana, or from his servants, the practitioners of witchcraft, it appears that this custom is a kind of sacrifice or offering to !Gana; and we are entitled to conclude that, in very remote times, human sacrifice must have been practised by the Hottentot race.³⁴⁴

23. If a woman's or young girl's breasts itch, they say: ³²⁷ "My son, my cousin, or some near relation, will soon arrive."

24. If a cow, during the night commences to groan in ³²⁵ her sleep, the next morning she is caught, and a piece of⁷⁶¹ skin, just above the nose, is cut, so that it hangs down in the shape of an ear-ring or ear-drops. If this be neglected, the owner of the cow soon will die.

25. If a girl becomes of age, or if a wedding is to be⁵³⁵ celebrated, nothing but cows and sheep-ewes may be⁷⁸⁷ slaughtered; and if any other cattle is killed the couple is sure to live unhappy. The fattest cow or the finest young heifer is chased about the place by the young men, and thrown with stones and beaten with clubs, until she is so exhausted and trembling with fear that she allows everybody to come near and touch her. If she still should kick and show fight, it is a sure sign that the marriage will be a continuation of fights and quarrels between husband and wife.

26. The girl or girls who have become of age must, after ³³¹ the festival, run about in the first thunderstorm, but they must be quite naked, so that the rain which pours down washes the whole body. The belief is that they will get³⁴³ fruitful and have a large offspring. I have on three occasions witnessed this running in the thunder-rain, when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning. This was among the !Gami!nua, on the banks of the Gei!ab

¹²¹
¹¹⁷ the Namaquas say: "Hh! be ni hā," or "Gmeh ni hā," the white man is coming, or the trader is coming.

●¹²⁵
¹¹⁷ 31. If a cock stands before the door of a house and crows into the house, visitors are expected.

32. If hens try to crow they are caught and killed or chased to death. If this be neglected, the owner is sure to die.

¹²¹
¹¹⁷ 33. If a party goes out on a warlike expedition a crow's heart is burnt and pounded and loaded into a gun. The gun is fired into the air, and they believe that as this pounded heart is blown into the air, in the same manner the enemies will fly and become faint-hearted, and they will disperse like timid crows.

¹²²
34. Another most powerful charm is the Dube, a substance of white colour, and of the size of a fowl's egg. This dube is generally found in ant heaps. The dube is pounded and mixed with tobacco, and then put into the pipe. If a girl smokes this mixture she will fall in love with the fellow who offered her the pipe.

¹¹⁷ That these superstitions are of a very recent date is obvious from the fact that the Khoikhoi, only through the white people, have become acquainted with fowls, pipes, guns, and ammunition. Therefore such superstitions in which things, brought from foreign countries, are mentioned, cannot be considered to be common to all Khoikhoi tribes.

In this respect each clan has its own superstition. It is curious to observe that the Khoikhoi have not accepted anything from the Bantu nations, while as regards language and religion, and even customs, it cannot be denied that the Bantu nations, who came in contact with the Khoikhoi, have adopted much which had an improving effect on their original condition. That the !Gona-Khoikhoi in the East greatly influenced the Ama-!Khosā; that these people became less ferocious than the Zulus; that the rule of the chiefs among the !Khosā was no longer so despotic as it generally is among the rest of the Bantu

out, in which milk and other drinkables are carried. The Khoikhoi use the calabash also for churning purposes, and produce butter by shaking the calabash. In Namaqua the calabash is *ibaa*; the root is *ā*, to drink, consequently *ibaa*, the tub for drinkables, German *Trinkgeschirr*. One place is called *Alibia*, on account of calabashes growing there in abundance. In Spain these calabashes serve as wine vessels, and are called either *calabazas* or *calaburinas*.

* *Thy body looks like a cow's body*, means then just a beautiful, fine, fat body.

- 825 * How strong the belief is among the Khoikhoi that animals even are revengeful, can be seen from the following historical fact:—When the !Amas had settled at Bethany, they went out to shoot the Hereros or Cattle Damaras, and to rob them of their cattle. Once they had a wholesale massacre amongst the Damaras. One man especially distinguished himself by extraordinary bloodthirstiness and cruelty. They had returned home, when after some time a black lion came and took that man out of his hut, tore him to pieces and killed him. The distance from Bethany to Damara-land is about 250 miles. Still up to this day the !Amas believe that that black lion was a Damara who had taken the shape of the beast, and had come that distance in order to revenge his people. Also of elephants and snakes, especially of the so-called dassie-adder, it is said that they can detect the criminal among hundreds of people, and kill him, without turning their ire on anybody else.

- 821 * I have called this legend the Orion myth, because most of the stars belonging to the constellation Orion act a certain part in it.

In the sequel of the third chapter I shall give an explanation of the names and the meaning of this myth. The Aldebaran, or *α Tauri*, is the sob of the myth, and !Khunuseti, or the Pleiades are his wives. His bow is